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VOLUME 38/NUMBER 33

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

# JAMES P. CANNON (1890-1974)



## SPECIAL ISSUE

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 James P. Cannon: foremost American revolutionist
- 4 Hansen: 'Jim forged nucleus of revolutionary party'
- 7 Kerry: 'Jim strove to make party into effective instrument'
- 8 Pulley: 'Jim was one of the heroes of socialist youth'
- 9 Brundt: 'Jim was an active party member'
- 10 Fund launched to fight for socialism
- 11 Novack: 'Jim taught us what to do next'
- 15 Sept. 10 independence set for Guinea-Bissau
- 17 UFW should back undocumented workers
- 18 How big is Rockefeller empire?
- 20 Mpls. Teamster strike: lessons for union struggles today
- 28 Ford's plan: more layoffs and cutbacks

- 2 In Brief
- 12 In Our Opinion
- Letters
- 13 La Raza en Accion
- National Picket Line
- 14 Great Society
- Women in Revolt
- By Any Means Necessary
- 24 In Review

## THE MILITANT

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**SPECIAL HANDLING:** If you've been wondering where the money from the outrageous postage rate hikes has been going, columnist Jack Anderson has uncovered one of the beneficiaries, and it's none other than Postmaster General Ted Klassen.

According to Anderson, more than \$300,000 has been spent on Klassen's executive office suite, including \$5,280 for a private pantry, \$3,671 for two sets of walnut doors, and \$5,999 for draperies. The Postal Service has shelled out \$528,360 to deck out the Postal Board of Governors' penthouse one floor above Klassen's suite. The penthouse includes a \$50,000 kitchen with \$53 sugar bowls and \$59 cream pitchers.

And to insure that he lives in style until his dying day, Klassen has negotiated a contract with the board of governors that guarantees him a retirement salary of \$15,000 a year for life.

**GAY IMMIGRATION FIGHT:** The American Civil Liberties Union, the National Organization for Women, and the National Gay Task Force intend to take legal action against the Immigration and Naturalization Service unless the director of the service, Leonard Chapman, issues an executive order changing the service's policy toward homosexuals.

Currently the service follows the policy of excluding any person "afflicted with psychopathic personality or sexual deviation or physical or mental defect." The department's code also provides for the deportation of noncitizens so "afflicted."

In a letter to Chapman, John Spiegel, president of the American Psychiatric Association (APA), pointed out that the board of trustees of the APA voted in December to drop homosexuality from its list of sexual deviations and mental disorders. "In view of the actions of the Board of Trustees of the APA," Spiegel said, "I would respectfully request that you use your statutory powers of discretion to refrain from the exclusion, deportation or refusal of citizenship of homosexual aliens. I would further suggest that such aliens not be subjected to procedures or proofs not required of other aliens."

## Your last chance!

Spiraling costs require that The Militant raise its subscription rates as of Sept. 15.

If you renew now you can extend your subscription at the current rate of \$5 for one year or \$10 for two years. New readers can also take advantage of the lower rate by sending in a subscription order now. This is a good time to buy a gift subscription for a friend or co-worker.

After the Sept. 15 deadline the new rates will be \$4 for six months, \$7.50 for one year, and \$13 for two years.

**PROTESTS IN NEWARK AGAINST SHUTDOWN OF ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM:** More than 100 people attended an outdoor rally Aug. 25 to protest the abrupt closing of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a federal program that had provided 11,000 Newark youth with jobs for the summer.

The protest was sponsored by the Neighborhood Youth Corps Action Coalition, which includes many of the high school students in the program, the Congress of African People, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Union.

The program, which had been scheduled to go 10 weeks and end Aug. 30, ended two weeks earlier when the money ran out. The protesters charged that the money ran out because of mismanagement by the program head, Clyde Mitchell. They demanded restoration of the two weeks lost; the firing of Mitchell and Harry Wheeler, the city's antipoverty program director; an immediate audit of the Youth Corps program by the city council; the election of a city-wide governing board of parents and youth to oversee the program; and that the program be continued year-round and provide technical training for all enrollees.

In addition, the protesters demanded that all charges be dropped against the 50 people who were arrested Aug. 20 while trying to see Democratic Mayor Kenneth Gibson about the termination of the program. Most of the demonstrators arrested were high school students.

**SUPPORT FOR LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS GROWS:** As the trial of the Leavenworth Brothers entered its sixth week, more support rallied to their defense.

On Aug. 16 Philip Berrigan spoke at a Prisoners' Rights Rally in Wichita, Kans., sponsored by the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee. On Aug. 25 Angela Davis, cochairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, spoke to more than 1,500

people at Wichita State University in defense of the Leavenworth Brothers.

The Leavenworth Brothers are four Blacks (Odell Bennett, Jesse Lee Evans, Alf Hill Jr., and Alfred Jasper) and two Chicanos (Jesse Lopez and Armando Miramon) who have been charged in connection with the July 1973 rebellion at Leavenworth penitentiary. The four Blacks, currently on trial, are charged with instigating riot and assaults on prison guards. Conspiracy to riot and mutiny, mutiny, and murder charges were dropped against the four because of lack of evidence.

The defense has opened its case and is trying to win over the all-white jury. However, as Perry Sanders, a spokesman for the defense committee, said in closing the rally at Wichita State University, the real defense of the Leavenworth Brothers lies in continued mobilizations against the frame-up.

**STUDY SHOWS ERIE COUNTY JURORS PREJUDICED IN ATTICA CASES:** Large numbers of Erie County, N.Y., jurors begin jury duty with strong prejudices against defendants, particularly if they are Black, according to a survey taken recently.

The survey was made by a team of research sociologists including Jay Schulman of New York City. An earlier study by the same research team found discriminatory patterns of jury selection that resulted in the dismissal of 97 percent of the Erie County jury pool in June of this year. Both surveys were commissioned by the Attica Brothers Legal Defense.

Among the results of their latest jury-pool survey were the following: 21 percent of the potential jurors would consciously disobey the instructions of a judge to presume defendants innocent until proven guilty, 19 percent still believe that hostages during the Attica rebellion had their throats slashed and were castrated by inmates. (The coroner's report showed conclusively that these allegations were untrue.)

The Attica Brothers Legal Defense is considering new legal action based on these findings. Trials of the 62 inmates indicted in connection with the rebellion are scheduled to begin in early September. A demonstration to commemorate the third anniversary of the Attica massacre is scheduled for Sept. 13 in Buffalo, N.Y.

**PRISONERS' RIGHTS VICTORY:** District Court Judge John Oliver ruled recently that the procedures for transferring federal prisoners into the START behavior-modification program at the federal medical center in Springfield, Mo., were unconstitutional.

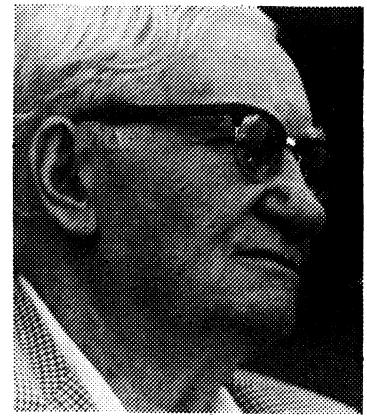
Judge Oliver's decision pointed to the lack of due process in the transfers, but found the inmates' claim that the program itself violated their constitutional rights moot because the program has been terminated by the Bureau of Prisons.

The prison inmates who had challenged the START program had been represented by lawyers from the National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# James P. Cannon: foremost American revolutionist



Joe Hansen addressing Oberlin meeting in tribute to founder of American Trotskyist movement

Militant/Henry Snipper

James P. Cannon died of a heart attack Aug. 21 at his home in Los Angeles at the age of 84.

Cannon was the foremost leader of the American revolutionary socialist movement and was at the time of his death National Chairman Emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party. His experience spanned more than six decades of participation in the class struggle. Cannon was also a central leader of the world Trotskyist movement.

Jim Cannon's death came as 1,250 socialists were participating in the 1974 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference, a week-long gathering held in Oberlin, Ohio. The conference, consisting of more than 80 different lectures, panel discussions, and workshops, was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance with the participation of the Socialist Workers Party.

The response by the conference to Cannon's death was in the revolutionary tradition. The "Political Tribute to Jim Cannon" held Aug. 23 launched a major campaign to move forward the struggle to build the revolutionary party to which Cannon devoted his life. Participants contributed or pledged more than \$50,000 for this effort. This was by far the largest outpouring of financial support at one meeting in the history of the revolutionary socialist movement.

To begin its coverage of the legacy of Jim Cannon's life, this week's Militant will carry the speeches given at the meeting in Oberlin, messages read

there, and a description of the special party-building campaign.

Future issues will carry further messages, more on the life and work of this great revolutionist, and excerpts from his writings, speeches, and interviews.

The announcement of Cannon's death was made at a conference assembly the morning of Aug. 22 by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The following are excerpts from his remarks.

## Jack Barnes: 'Jim always remained true to his rebel youth'

I must begin this morning by telling you something important. Jim Cannon died last night in Los Angeles.

He went quickly with a heart attack, in the early evening after a fruitful day at work, cogitating and talking to comrades.

Tomorrow night we want to hold here a special tribute meeting to Jim, with all the comrades gathered. Com-

rade Joe Hansen will be the main speaker and will tell about the life and the meaning of the life of Jim Cannon. And at the same time we will launch a James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, to carry forward the work he wanted.

Jim would have been 85 years old this coming February. Eighty-five. He lived a wonderful and fruitful as well as long life. He said it wasn't always easy and comfortable, but he was a proletarian revolutionist with a lot of Wobbly blood, so that was all right. And it was certainly rewarding, beyond imagination.

If our estimate is correct, almost 70 of Jim's years were as a conscious revolutionist: beginning as a teenager revolting against the injustices and the frame-ups of leaders of the labor movement and the oppressed; being influenced by the class he came from, the working class, and a socialist father; and learning from the Russian revolution how to bring about this goal. He never turned back from this. He remained, as he said he tried to be, completely true to his rebel youth.

You all remember what Theodore Draper said in his introduction to Jim's book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* — he said that Jim remembered so well, unlike anyone else, because he wanted to and he had absolutely no reason not to.

The whole week here has been a tribute to Jim. Jim, in what he thought and did and taught us, is everywhere — in the books we study and the ones

we're planning, in all the speeches at this conference, and in the themes we developed. Even some of the sentences we used, and arguments and lessons, were directly from him. Our decision to launch the prepaid subscription cards as part of our *Militant* circulation drive was an idea that Jim had been campaigning for.

Up to the last interviews he gave — and he gave several in the last few weeks — he spent his time discussing the socialist perspective and exactly the same questions we discussed here. And he had come to one of the same conclusions we have come to: that we are entering a period in this country where all things are possible if we do our job.

Jim really loved the idea of these socialist educational conferences. He wished the party had more resources and could have done more of this earlier. He told me it was "the gathering of the clan," and that this was important because through such gatherings we learn how to think together and to know each other from all around the country and the world, and we learn to have confidence in each other. And that more than anything else, he thought, was the key to the future of the party.

So we're going to do what he would want us to do and what he taught us to do. We're going to go ahead, take care of business — humanity's most important business — the building of the revolutionary party and the revolutionary international.

# Joseph Hansen: 'Jim forged the nucleus'

The Aug. 23 Political Tribute to Jim Cannon was chaired by Jack Barnes, who described the purpose of the meeting as "to begin the process of paying tribute to Jim Cannon's 70 years of revolutionary activity, and to celebrate the imperishable things that he gave us, his party, on a national and world scale."

The main speaker of the evening was Joseph Hansen, member of the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party and editor of *Intercontinental Press*. Barnes noted that for both Joe Hansen and Reba Hansen, "1974 is the fortieth year of collaboration and friendship with Jim Cannon in building the revolutionary party."

"Maybe Joe and Reba knew James Patrick Cannon, the person, better than almost anyone," Barnes stated. "Even more important, they learned from him, especially, about team leadership and work—as Jim always emphasized, hard work."

Barnes continued: "Joe Hansen is one of the longstanding older members of the SWP leadership team forged by Jim and, in my opinion, the outstanding leader today of the Fourth International, which Jim Cannon helped found." (The Socialist Workers Party is now prevented by reactionary legislation from organizationally affiliating with the Fourth International but maintains fraternal political relations.)

The following is Joe Hansen's speech to the meeting.

Jim's life was so bound up with the life of the generation I belong to that it is difficult to speak about him briefly. The mass of material, particularly the flood of memories, is simply too great. I will confine myself to making only a few observations about his development as a revolutionist and his achievements.

At the age of 84, after 66 years of service in the revolutionary socialist movement, Jim's mind was still sharp and lucid. He followed world events closely, kept up with the current literature of the radical movement, remained on top of developments in the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and was keenly interested in the affairs of the Fourth International, holding strong opinions on the current differences being debated in the world party of the socialist revolution.

His advice and judgments will be sorely missed. They were always advanced with complete objectivity and with the interests of the movement as a whole uppermost in his considerations.

Jim was born in Rosedale, Kans., on Feb. 11, 1890. The family, of Irish background, was an ordinary one except for politics. His father was a socialist and a partisan of the *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist journal of wide circulation and great popularity. A father holding socialist views was an enormous advantage to a boy growing up in the backward Middle West.

A direct result was that at the age of 18, Jim joined the Socialist Party. Three years later he joined the Industrial Workers of the World, dual membership being quite common and an accepted practice.

In those years, the United States was experiencing a great radical upsurge. It was a time of bitter strike



Militant/Joe Hansen

Rose Karsner and Cannon at Jim's 70th birthday celebration in New York

struggles and violent confrontations with strikebreakers and the police. Under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party grew by leaps and bounds, striking deep roots in the labor movement.

### Class-conscious battler

Jim was formed as a class-conscious battler in this period, coming to the attention of such superlative fighters and organizers as Vincent St. John, from whom Jim learned invaluable lessons.

In high school, Jim starred in debating, a campus sport of much higher standing than it is today. Participation on the debating team gave Jim a good start in achieving one of his ambitions, which was to become a skilled public speaker.

He made a study of public speaking, observing the celebrities who came to town on lecture tours, reading books on technique, and doing his best to eliminate the speech defects that come natural in the Middle West. This was coupled with practical experience in soapboxing, which is a very hard school. One of the results was that he became renowned by the early twenties in the Communist movement as a highly gifted speaker.

He followed a similar course of study in writing, training himself in this field by seeing how others did it, and reading what he could find on the subject. At one time he began a novel.

In both writing and speaking he tended to be a perfectionist, continually working over his drafts and seeking to bring them to a high polish.

Thus as an organizer, a speaker, and a writer he already had solid skills when he became editor of the *Workers World* in Kansas City in 1919 at the age of 29 and of *The Toiler*, a Communist Party publication, the following year.

In his ability to present the funda-

mental concepts and goals of revolutionary socialism in popular terms, Jim had few equals. He was an artist in this field. Many of the short articles he wrote over the years in his column *The Notebook of an Agitator* can be taken as models of revolutionary journalism.

The IWW and the left wing of the Socialist Party in the years leading up to World War I constituted a good training ground for an activist. The lessons remained with Jim throughout the rest of his life.

But the greatest single influence in his political education was the Russian revolution, particularly the October 1917 overturn in which the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky won power.

### School of Russian revolution

That great event, which caught the imagination of class-conscious workers throughout the world as a living example of how to topple capitalism, inspired a whole new generation of revolutionists. For Jim, as for many of his comrades, it became an advanced school in which they were re-educated in some respects and in others received graduate training in theory and in politics.

And they learned that in a very practical school. That was the assemblage of the left wing of the Socialist Party, and all the rebels in the IWW who could be convinced, and others along with them, to found the Communist Party of the United States, in which Jim participated. He was elected to its central committee at the Bridgeport, Mich., convention in 1920.

It was in this school that Jim completed his basic education as a revolutionist. It was under the direct tutelage of the Russians, in conjunction with living experience in the American class struggle in the twenties, that Jim's main talent flowered and he emerged as a political organizer of

the highest caliber.

The capitalist class nearly always has talented political organizers at its disposal, some of them coming from wealthy families that specialize in offering political leadership. They are rather rare in the working class, one reason being that many with the talent for it are drawn into serving the capitalist parties. A person with talent in this field must be capable of great dedication and capacity for self-sacrifice to take up the cause of the working class and to remain devoted to it for decades and even a lifetime.

Jim was such a person. It came natural to him to size up a situation correctly, to take into account the main forces, to judge accurately what ought to be done next, and to win others to these insights. Jim became a skilled technician in working out the best ways of responding to attacks on the revolutionary movement and of mounting effective counteroffensives.

In the twenties in the Communist movement, Jim was justly famed for this. It was the development of this talent in particular that won him a place as one of the key leaders of the Communist Party.

In those days, of course, the Communist Party was something of a jungle—that is, as far as the internal struggles were concerned. At first, the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky could play a role in ameliorating the situation and helping the comrades to learn the correct lessons from their mistakes.

But later on the Comintern degenerated and itself became a real jungle, in which Jim was one of the best of the jungle fighters. He made errors from which he later learned and never forgot.

### Principled politics

The main difference between Jim and some of the others who also had talents along this line was that Jim operated within the framework of principles, the principles of revolutionary socialism. He sought to win, naturally. But his perspective was the long-range one of winning the final battle; that is, the final battle in the struggle to topple capitalism and to replace it with socialism on a world scale.

In his opinion this was a great perspective, the only one really worth a lifetime of effort. He saw it, too, as a realistic perspective, one that would inevitably be realized even if it required the combined efforts of several successive generations of revolutionists.

Jim was an internationalist to the marrow of his bones. He absorbed the internationalist view in his youth as a member of the Socialist Party and of the IWW. The Russian revolution offered living confirmation of the correctness of this outlook.

On top of this, Jim began gaining direct experience in international problems. In addition to the incessant discussions, debates, and factional struggles in the Communist Party of the twenties, Jim served as a delegate to the important Fourth Congress of the Communist International and later to the sixth, where Stalin sought to smash Trotsky's defense of the program of Leninism.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 marked an important step in the development of

# of the revolutionary party in the U.S.

James P. Cannon as a political figure of international stature. It was at that congress that he decided to take up the cause represented by Leon Trotsky.

In the previous period he had become deeply disturbed by pernicious moves made by the Comintern in the internal affairs of the American Communist Party. But he did not connect these up with the struggle over "Trotskyism" in the Russian party. In fact, from the available information, he was inclined to disregard that struggle and even give the benefit of the doubt to Stalin.

At the Sixth Congress, he and Maurice Spector of the Canadian Communist Party accidentally received copies of an English translation of part of Trotsky's criticism of the draft program that was proposed for adoption at the congress. The rest is history.

The document completely convinced Cannon. He decided to battle for Trotsky's criticisms—not because of any hope of immediate success, but because he saw that Trotsky was right.

## Not an easy decision

It was not an easy decision. Cannon realized, perhaps better than anyone outside of the Russian Trotskyists, that it would mean ostracism, the breakup of old friendships, and the end of personal relations with many comrades he had known in common battles for years.

However, it was politically necessary to make the turn. For Jim this consideration was paramount. Nothing personal could be permitted to stand in the way of moving ahead in defense of Trotsky's position and against Stalin's bureaucratic gang.

Cannon's decision offers a striking example of the importance of achieving political clarity in a factional struggle. Stalin understood that too. That was why he tried to gag Trotsky and why he eventually used assassination to silence Trotsky's powerful voice.

Thus at a crucial moment, when Trotsky was exiled in far-off Alma Ata, blocked by force from defending

his positions and from answering the most poisonous lies and slanders, one of the main leaders of the American Communist Party joined Trotsky in defense of the program of Leninism, determined to do everything he could to organize a principled faction to struggle for that program on an international scale in the Communist movement.

That decision marked the real beginning of our movement in the United States, although some anticipatory moves in that direction had been taken previously by figures like Antoinette Konikow in Boston. And that decision also marked a banner day for the worldwide movement that eventually became the Fourth International.

James P. Cannon came in on the ground floor in 1928 in the international struggle against Stalinism. He lived to see the Stalinist monolith shattered.

## Collaboration with Trotsky

The collaboration between Cannon and Trotsky was particularly fruitful. Some of the detractors of our movement have pictured Cannon as a "yes man," wholly dependent on the ideas furnished by Trotsky, serving only to execute them. I can think of worse relationships; but this picture happens to be inaccurate. It actually maligns Trotsky as much as it does Cannon.

In his relations with Cannon, as in his relations with his secretaries and all members of the staff that worked with him, Trotsky's status was that of an equal. Give-and-take was easy. Trotsky elicited ideas from others and their tendency was to respond, and sometimes to rise above themselves.

This collaboration was, of course, on the political level. The team was not a group of compatible souls drawn together out of common personal predilections, tastes, and habits. Trotsky and Cannon, for instance, were quite different in personality.

In Coyoacán, I saw how Trotsky and Cannon collaborated, and I know what value Trotsky placed on Cannon's opinions as a political strategist and practitioner of Leninism in



Militant/Ron Payne

Cannon's main achievement was to build the SWP, which has demonstrated its capabilities through, for example, the major role it played in building the antiwar movement.

party building.

As for Cannon, he regarded Trotsky to be a genius, one of the rare individuals like Karl Marx that are born, sometimes generations apart. He accepted Trotsky's genius as a fact, a fact of enormous importance to the revolutionary movement, and he had no thought of placing himself on the same level.

But Cannon never accepted anything on faith from Trotsky, nor would Trotsky have expected it. If Cannon disagreed, he argued for his own views, and on certain questions he convinced Trotsky. Cannon was not unique in this. It was an experience shared by others on Trotsky's staff.

## Fourth International

In founding the Fourth International in 1938, Trotsky and Cannon made a powerful combination, beginning with the conversations concerning the program to be presented at the first

congress, and ending with the actual launching of the new international party.

There were a number of persons, it should be recalled, even in the Trotskyist movement, who opposed forming the Fourth International, holding it to be inopportune. Both Trotsky and Cannon favored the step, the imminence of World War II making it all the more necessary because of the turbulent new stage in world affairs that would be opened up.

When Trotsky was assassinated in 1940, it was the opinion of many, above all the Stalinists and the reactionaries in general, that this meant the end of the Fourth International and of Trotskyism in general.

Cannon, at the age of 50, was considered to be the most prominent leader of the world Trotskyist movement. In his opinion it was unrealistic to believe that any single individual could

Continued on next page

## Fourth International: 'We pledge to continue Cannon's fight'

By the time of the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon, messages had begun to arrive in Oberlin by cable, telegram, and telephone from friends and comrades of Cannon throughout the United States and around the world.

Messages arrived from many sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International. The chairman of the meeting, Jack Barnes, singled out one sentence from one of them, because, he said, "it augurs so well for the future of Jim's contributions to party building all around the world."

The last sentence of this message, from the Frankfurt Gruppe Internationale Marxist (International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International), read: "We pledge to transmit Jim Cannon's message to the German working class by making a special effort to translate and publish his

most valuable contributions to our common fight in Germany."

The following is the message sent from the elected leadership of the Fourth International and read to the meeting.

The death of Jim Cannon is a loss not only to the revolutionary Marxist movement in the United States, but to the world struggle for socialist revolution as well. Throughout his life Cannon embodied the best American traditions of militant class struggle, and combined those traditions with the recognition of the need for constructing the instrument essential for the victory of the proletarian revolution: the Leninist party and the revolutionary international.

He was able to play a crucial role in transforming that theoretical recognition into reality, fighting

all his life to build that party in the strongest bastion of world imperialism.

From the IWW to the Socialist Party left wing, from the original American Communist Party to the International Labor Defense and the fight to free class-struggle prisoners like Sacco and Vanzetti, from the struggle in the Communist Party in defense of the Trotskyist program of revolutionary Marxism to the fight for a new party and a new international, from the days of his intimate collaboration with Leon Trotsky and the establishment of the Socialist Workers Party to the decades of activity in building and strengthening that party—Cannon was always guided by the profound conviction that without revolutionary leadership the struggle of the workers for a socialist world would be in vain.

Neither the Palmer raids nor the Smith Act trials, nor the McCarthyite witch-hunt, nor the constant and severe pressure of the American ruling class was able to deter him from acting resolutely on that conviction.

His more than six decades of revolutionary activity stand as an inspiration to the new forces in the world now rallying to the program and banner of the Fourth International. It is an inspiration that is not merely moral but practical as well, offering the richest lessons for the new generation of revolutionary fighters.

We all mourn the loss of this comrade and we pledge ourselves to continue the fight for the program, party, and goals to which Jim dedicated his long and fruitful life.

United Secretariat of the Fourth International

# ...‘Cannon was utterly dedicated to

**Continued from preceding page**  
fill the void left by the death of Trotsky. Most certainly no one should look to him to attempt it. He was no genius, he said, and he considered it pretentious and a mockery to play the role of being one.

However, he did have a plan for carrying on the struggle in the absence of Trotsky. The plan was not an elaborate one. It consisted of closing ranks, of trying to keep the team together, of strengthening it, of expanding it, and of renewing it.

### Continuity of leadership

In this way the continuity of leadership could be maintained. If another Trotsky appeared, that would be extraordinary good luck. It would help shorten the struggle for socialism. But if another Trotsky did not appear, we would continue to struggle on the basis of Trotsky's program and teachings, and eventually teamwork would win.

In this proposed course, Cannon considered the Fourth International to be of central importance. Everything possible had to be done to maintain the Fourth International and to expand it on all continents as a means of upholding the program of Trotskyism and of helping to form national leaderships capable of building mass parties and of guiding revolutionary struggles to success.

Cannon's interest in the development and welfare of the Fourth International had nothing in common with a federalist concept that viewed the international as being a good thing so long as it stayed out of the bailiwick of the Socialist Workers Party, as some have claimed.

Cannon was deeply committed to building the Fourth International

along the lines laid down at its foundation. He considered the Socialist Workers Party to be only a section of the Fourth International—an important section in his opinion. He never changed in this, even though the passage of reactionary legislation in the United States compelled the Socialist Workers Party to disaffiliate from the Fourth International.

### Greatest achievement

Comrade Cannon's most remarkable achievement, nonetheless, was on American soil. Sharing in this achievement were the other pioneer Trotskyists in the United States—among them Vincent R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Arne Swabeck, and above all Rose Karsner, Jim's companion who died in March 1968. These pioneer Trotskyists, however, would all give the main credit to Jim.

This achievement was to build a viable nucleus of a revolutionary party inside the United States, the main bastion of world capitalism. Not only did Jim build this nucleus, he maintained it and continued to build it for an unprecedented number of decades in face of enormous pressures. There has been nothing like it in the history of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Jim held this nucleus together against the lure of posts in the trade-union bureaucracy, none of which are without considerable emoluments.

He held this nucleus together against the merciless blows and venomous slanders of American Stalinism, once a powerful force in the radical movement and in many trade unions in the United States.

He held this nucleus together in face of the hysteria of World War II, marching to prison at the head of the Trotskyists convicted as the first vic-



Max Eastman (left), Cannon, and William 'Big Bill' Haywood in Moscow, 1922.

tims of the Smith Act for their political opposition to imperialist war.

He held this nucleus together during the infamous decade of McCarthyism in the United States, when the Trotskyists were hounded from their jobs by the American political police, the FBI, and when our movement was almost completely isolated politically and virtually paralyzed for lack of funds.

He held this nucleus together against the deadly combination of McCarthyite repression and economic prosperity that led to years of passivity in the labor movement.

### Casualties

There were casualties, of course. Valuable comrades grew discouraged and dropped out of activity. Cadres with years of experience could not endure the strain and developed political differences that gave them seeming justification for finding a road to the sidelines.

But new recruits replaced them. And some of these recruits proved to be of exceptional worth precisely because they swam against the stream in joining the movement in such a period.

Jim's stamina and stubbornness won out in the end. He succeeded in maintaining the continuity of leadership, a continuity going back directly to the founders of American socialism in the past century, and back in a direct line to the Bolsheviks, and through them to the founders of scientific socialism.

The nucleus of revolutionary socialists assembled, maintained, and renewed under the leadership of James P. Cannon is doing quite well today and we know of the satisfaction he found in this success.

### Development of cadres

During his years as the main leader of American Trotskyism, Jim became the teacher of three, if not four, generations of revolutionists. He taught us not so much through formal lectures—he did not give many in reality—or even through his writings, although here he left us a considerable legacy.

He taught us most powerfully through participating with us in struggles. Over the years he stood at our

side in many situations and battles in the class struggle, where one of his chief concerns was the development of cadres, particularly the capacity of comrades to think for themselves.

But I would say that the primary arena in which Jim taught us the most important lessons was in the development of the Socialist Workers Party itself. Here I think not only of party administration, the organization of branch work, the production of our press, and the development of leadership abilities in these areas, but of the many internal struggles, including those in the early years of the Communist Party in which most of us here did not participate except vicariously through the accounts that have been handed down.

Our party owes its very existence to the way Jim handled these struggles. Through them he imparted his political know-how so that it became an acquisition of the cadres as a whole, something our party can use as a foundation in the mighty struggles lying ahead that will determine the fate of America and along with America the fate of the world.

In the aftermath of World War II, it was Jim's firm opinion that the victory of the Soviet Union, the toppling of capitalism in Eastern Europe, and the revolutionary victory in China would ultimately weaken Stalinism on a world scale, making possible new revolutionary advances. The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 was one of the confirmations, in his view.

His eyes were set, of course, on the American workers. In the long run, the upheavals elsewhere would have a cumulative effect in the political arena in the United States. Coupled with the ever-deepening economic and social contradictions of capitalism, the American workers, the mightiest power on earth, would be propelled into action and the American revolution would begin.

In the last years of his life, Jim was convinced that the American revolution is not far off. It has drawn perceptibly nearer. He saw the signs in the appearance of the Black liberation movement in the sixties and the women's liberation movement in the

## Tribute to Cannon from Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan

Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan, noted Jack Barnes at the meeting, "were Jim Cannon's oldest leading communist comrades-in-arms—for five and a half decades. On the other side of the globe, the struggle of Chen Pi-lan and Peng Shu-tse was politically linked from the beginning with that of Rose and Jim."

Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan were founders of the Chinese Communist Party and of the world Trotskyist movement.

Barnes pointed out that Cannon and Peng were present in Moscow as delegates at several of the same congresses of the Communist International, although they never met there personally.

The following is the message from Chen Pi-lan and Peng Shu-tse to the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon.

Jim Cannon's revolutionary spirit and political contributions remain with us, above all the forging of a Bolshevik-type revolutionary party—the Socialist Workers Party.

Jim was the founding leader of the Left Opposition in the United States, whose program was based on Trotsky's document, "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International." This document was printed serially in the

### early *Militant*.

Under Jim's leadership, the publication of *The Militant* influenced and encouraged the Trotskyist movement in other countries. *The Militant* and other publications of the American Trotskyists were the educators and organizers of Trotskyists around the world. This cannot be stressed too much.

The SWP maintained and even developed the Bolshevik concept of democratic centralism and was the example for the world Trotskyist movement.

Together with Trotsky, Cannon launched the struggle against [Max] Shachtman and [James] Burnham's revisionism in 1939 and 1940. Another major contribution—this time led by Jim—took place in 1953-54 when he launched the fight against Pabloite revisionism.

We hope above all that Trotskyists, especially the young Trotskyists, will carry on in the traditional combative spirit of Jim Cannon and will emulate his leadership in the construction of a Bolshevik party. If you younger Trotskyists follow in his footsteps and further develop the ideas and program which he stood for, you will surely lead the working class to its final victory under the banner of Trotskyism.

# overturning this monstrous system'

early seventies. He saw it in the incapacity of American imperialism to win outright victories, first in Korea and then in Vietnam. He saw it in the radicalization of the youth on a scale never before seen in America. He saw it in the antiwar movement that swept this country from coast to coast, shaking the capitalist political system so that one president decided not to run for a second term, and his successor—a less astute crook—had to hand in his resignation, the first time that has happened in American history.

All these signs led Cannon to believe that the time of Trotskyism is close at hand.

In his personal life, Jim preferred a simple existence, in the company of congenial comrades and friends. He was an omnivorous reader, but he also enjoyed conversation. His conversation, of course, centered on politics, or drifted there, sometimes with a little ribbing and joking woven in.

Jim smoked cigars and a pipe and was not at all demanding as to the grade of tobacco, smoking the cheap brands he bought and the Havanas or mixtures that came as gifts in recent years with equal relish. So long as the tobacco smoldered, he was satisfied.

He considered a celebration from time to time to be a necessity, and he made sure that the usual source of conviviality was not missing. For long periods, his drink was tea or at the most beer, a limitation he did not approve of; but alcohol gave him a problem he was compelled to take into account.

In his working pattern, Jim was not an easygoing type; in fact, he could be very demanding. Some comrades

found this to be trying and it led to friction in some instances.

Jim had the capacity to recognize his own faults and weaknesses. To close friends, he even overemphasized them, thinking he had more than the usual share.

Jim's objectivity extended to others. It can be seen in the most striking way in his comments on figures he once knew in the Communist Party who had become Stalinists and betrayed the revolutionary-socialist movement. He gave them full credit for what they once were and had sought to be, and explained how forces they did not understand had overwhelmed them.

## A team man

A psychoanalytical study of Jim might be of interest, for he was very complex, but it would not tell us much about what made him tick politically. He lived as a political person and he must be judged on that level. In this he functioned as a team man, completely conscious of the power of a leadership team, and a master at constructing one; that is, a well-balanced group composed of contrasting types, whether one-sided or many-sided, including some always inclined to be critical and some certain to reflect the opinion of this or that layer.

As an integral part of the team, Jim subordinated himself completely to party discipline, to "duty" as he liked to think of it, or to a call to "pitch for the party."

Jim described himself as at bottom an "anarchist," and no doubt there was some truth to this. It did not come natural to him to be a team man. He had to learn it and to apply it

quite consciously to himself, harnessing himself to the call for duty. Consequently, it was observable that he indulged in his anarchistic inclinations, if that's what they were, only in small things, doing his utmost to exclude them from anything of importance to the party.

## An angry person

Fundamentally, Jim was an angry person. He was angry at injustice, at inequities, at special privileges, at exploitation. He was angry at poverty, lack of opportunity, oppression, racism, and sexism.

He seethed over the crimes of capitalism, its wars, its reactionary ideologies. He hated its police, its courts, its prisons, its fascism, its tendency to drop back to barbarism.

He burned with fury over Truman's dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and at the chance that the human race might be obliterated in an atomic holocaust.

This deep-seated and perpetual anger at capitalism, aroused ever day by what he read in the papers and saw on all sides, was one of the driving forces in Jim's makeup.

He was utterly dedicated to overthrowing this monstrous system in which we happen to have been born.

Jim had a clear vision of socialism and the perspectives it could open up. He gained this vision as a youth and the vision never left him. He sought throughout his conscious life to impart this vision to others, to inspire them, and to win them to the cause.

He repeated this appeal with all the eloquence at his command in the recent speech he made on tape for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

That speech could be said to be Jim Cannon's last message to the party and to the new generation of rebels, expressing his deepest convictions.

## He remains with us

I will not say farewell to Jim. He remains with us. He remains with us through his writings. He remains with us through the party that he did so much to establish. He remains with us through the continuity of that party's leadership and through the personal example he set of lifelong dedication to the cause of the emancipation of humanity.

Through these achievements, Jim will remain a participant, a comrade-in-arms, in the international struggle for socialism until the final victory is won.

## Karolyn Kerry: 'Jim strove to make party into effective instrument'

For Karolyn Kerry and Tom Kerry, as with Joe and Reba Hansen, 1974 marked their fortieth year as comrades and co-workers with Cannon. Karolyn Kerry told the meeting about some of their experiences with Jim Cannon and Rose Karsner and the party.

In his introduction Barnes said, "Some of you here know that after Rose and Jim went to California for good in the 1950s, critics inside the SWP soon dubbed the leadership team in New York the 'Dobbs-Kerry regime.' They meant this as a devastating criticism.

"But we Dobbs-Kerryites grabbed it for ourselves, just like an earlier generation did with the banner of the 'Cannon regime.' Jim said he wasn't surprised when I told him this."

Karolyn Kerry, Barnes noted, "was not only the recipient, as so many were, of Jim's party-building ideas, but she was often one of those responsible for putting them into practice." She has taken on such varied responsibilities as business manager of *The Militant*, SWP branch organizer, SWP campaign manager in New York, and organizer of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which defended the trade unionists and SWP leaders sent to prison during World War II under the Smith Act. Karolyn Kerry now works in the promotion department of Pathfinder Press.

The following are her remarks.

Tom [Kerry] and I first came to New York as part of the substitute leadership after Jim, Farrell [Dobbs], and the other party leaders had been railroaded to prison in 1944 under the Smith "Gag" Act.

We stayed with Rose Karsner, Jim's companion, collaborator, and a long-time party leader in her own right, while Jim was in prison.

Prison regulations required that the "inmates," as they are called, limit their correspondence to members of their immediate families. Rose, therefore, served as the link for Jim's correspondence with the party leadership.

There was one aspect of Jim's correspondence that had Rose and the rest of us completely mystified.

When Jim entered prison he was suffering from ulcers. His customary diet was milk and bananas. Under the circumstances, food, as such, was of little interest to him.

When, therefore, his letters began to deal at great length about the most esoteric menus, we were convinced he

*Continued on next page*



Lenin, 1917. The Bolsheviks were Cannon's main teachers.

## 'Hail to Jim's long fight for the socialist future'

Marvel Scholl and Farrell Dobbs were in California at the time of Cannon's death and were not able to be present at the Oberlin meeting. This year marks their fortieth year in the revolutionary socialist movement, and 40 years of collaboration with Jim Cannon.

"This collaboration began," noted Jack Barnes, "with Jim's visit to Minneapolis at the very beginning of the strikes (the 1934 Teamster strikes, which shook the city and of which Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl were leaders) to give a little help, as Farrell said, when it was sorely needed.

"And it continued," said Barnes, "through all the decades of Farrell's immense responsibility as the central elected executive leader of the party."

The following is the text of the message sent by Marvel Scholl and Farrell Dobbs to be read at the meeting.

Hail and farewell to Comrade Jim Cannon. When, in 1928, he brought Trotskyism to the United States, it was the beginning of a long uphill fight to continue the building of a genuine revolutionary

movement capable of waging an uncompromising fight to bring humankind an enlightened socialist future.

This educational gathering of socialist, characterized above all by the presence of dedicated young revolutionaries, is truly a fitting memorial to Comrade Jim, who remained true to his own youth to the end of his days.

Let every comrade present at this gathering rededicate herself and himself to the task Jim began 46 years ago.

No one could ask for a better way to be honored.

# ...'He was certain there can be a better

Continued from preceding page

was attempting to communicate with the party leadership through a code of his own design.

Unfortunately, neither Rose nor anyone else in the party leadership had been provided with a key to the code.

Here is a typical example of one menu from the Pathfinder Press book, *Letters from Prison* (letter number 30):

"This," wrote Jim, "is Sunday morning and I am thinking of a breakfast of soft-boiled eggs with creamy butter, orange juice (iced), milk, crepes suzette and rightly made coffee with cream."

We puzzled greatly over Jim's menus only to learn later that there was no code, and therefore no key, but that Jim, like all the others, was driven to improvising imaginative menus by the spartan diet imposed by the prison authorities.

In fact, a key to the solution to the puzzle was provided in letter number 125—95 letters later—which reads: "You can tell the friends who inquire about my health that I am all right. I continue to stick strictly to my diet of boiled eggs and milk three times a day, seven days a week, and will stick to it until January 22. Then, I think, I will be entitled to a little variety and I am beginning to look forward to the special menus previously sent to you."

But this subject was only incidental to Jim's real concern, his constant preoccupation with problems of party

This drive to make *The Militant* a paper of mass circulation was aided by the work of our first trailblazer team, composed of Eloise Booth and Rudie Rhodes, who traveled by bus from city to city and state to state selling *Militant* subs to new readers.

2) Party education. In this area Jim conveyed many new ideas of expanding party education for party members and party leaders. He urged us to apply, in this area of partywork, the same Bolshevik spirit that animates all of our party-building activities.

It was through Jim's prodding that the first Trotsky School was organized and continued for a number of years thereafter. In a sense we can justly attribute the past several Oberlin educational conferences of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party to his reiterated emphasis on organized and systematic educational activities.

I cannot in these few minutes even begin to summarize all of Jim's thoughts on the ways and means of building the party and making it a more effective instrument of revolutionary struggle.

### Total commitment

If there is any generalization I can make about Jim Cannon's character, it was his total commitment, his total immersion, his total concern about the party and with the party, first manifested for me in his letters from prison.

That was true of the Jim Cannon I

## Andrew Pulley: 'Jim was one of the heroes of socialist youth'

In introducing Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, Barnes noted that the YSA leader's presence confirmed a prediction that Jim Cannon had made some 30 years ago. "In one of his letters from prison," Barnes recalled, "Jim talks about the role of the army in radicalizing proletarian youth in certain periods, and he explains how the prisons become schools for revolutionists."

"This was years before Malcolm X, and Attica, and Fort Jackson," he continued.

Andrew Pulley became a socialist in 1969 at Fort Jackson, after he and other GIs had waged a fight for the right to organize discussions of the Vietnam war and racism in the army. He was thrown into the stockade for insisting on the right of GIs to freedom of speech and assembly.

Barnes introduced Pulley as "one of the leading graduates of the Fort Jackson stockade, one of those schools for revolutionists." The following are his remarks.

Jim Cannon was too old to formally join the Young Socialist Alliance, according to our constitution. But we didn't let that stop us.

He was over 80 in years. But in his optimism in the socialist future and his determination to realize it, and in his sense of humor, he was as young as any of us in the YSA.

Jim was like a member of the YSA. He was our senior consultant. Whenever YSA leaders would visit Los Angeles we would meet with him. His door was always open to the YSA.

It is only natural to be a little nervous when you first meet a person of Jim's stature. But as soon as he began to speak, he would relax you.

I was amazed, in one of the meetings I had with Jim, at his familiarity with the work of the party and the YSA, his deep interest in the YSA, and his sharp perception of the events of the class struggle, the youth radicalization, and the general political reality of the day.

Jim Cannon appreciated the YSA as a Leninist youth organization. In one of his last interviews, printed in the July-August *Young Socialist*, Jim stated, "The Young Socialist Alliance of today is an entirely new phenomenon, as far as my experience can judge, by its composition, its general activity, and in practically every other way."

Jim was a big partisan of founding the YSA. He felt the YSA had an important role to play on the campuses, in the high schools, and among the

youth in general: to lead young people in struggle to change society, and to train young revolutionists for membership in the revolutionary party.

In a speech presented to the West Coast Vacation School in 1964 titled "What It Means To Be a Young Revolutionary Today"—a speech that recruited to the socialist movement a number of people sitting here tonight—Jim spoke of the danger of nuclear annihilation and said: "So we have come to the conclusion that time is shorter. When you join a socialist movement now, you're joining the battle which in your own lifetime—not that of your children, not that of your grandchildren, but in your own lifetime—and even before you reach an advanced age, is going to be settled.

"You have got to be the vanguard of the people who are going to settle it. So being a socialist becomes the central purpose of your life and your activity."

You know, Jim was a YSAer when he was young. They just didn't call it that then. Jim joined the fight for socialism while in high school. One of his first activities was in the defense campaign to free Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

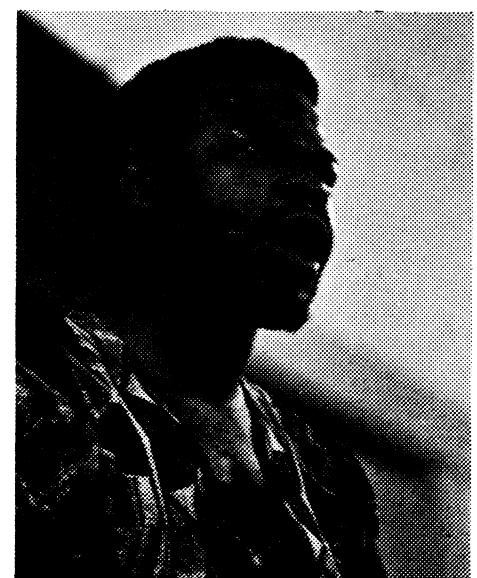
As a youth Jim was a footloose rebel. He became a socialist and spread the socialist word, speaking on street corners and selling the *Appeal to Reason*, the popular socialist weekly. That was almost 70 years ago. He stayed with that fight for way over half a century, and that's a long time.

How many of you have been told, by your parents, teachers, bosses, parole officers, or lieutenants, that you'll outgrow your socialist views when you grow up and get wise?

Well, Jim Cannon grew up, and he did get wiser—and that's why he stayed true to his rebel ideas all the way. As he explained in the recent *Young Socialist* interview, "If I can convey any suggestion to you it's this—the longer you live in this fight, the more determined you are to try to win it and the more confident you are that the human race will survive."

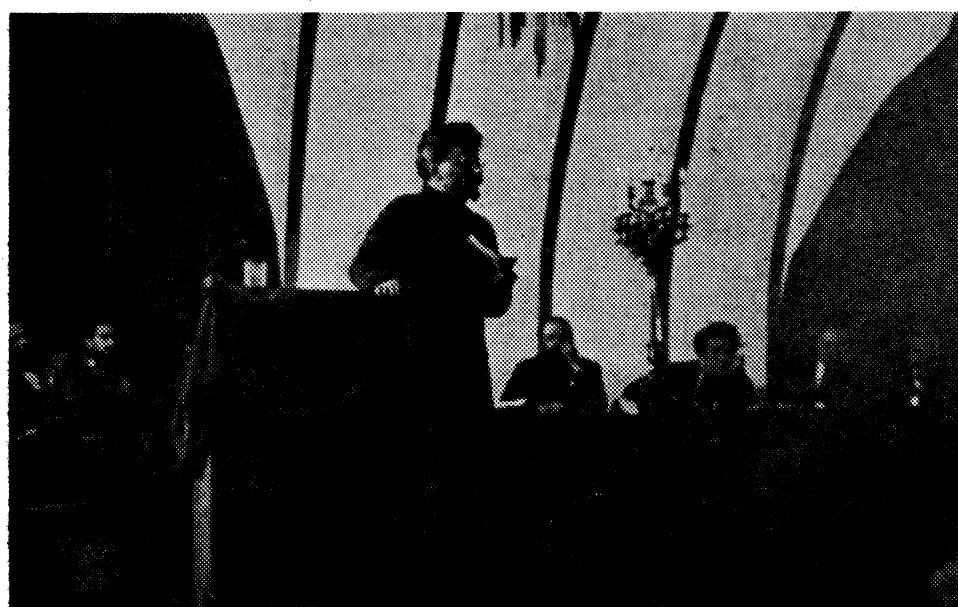
In one of his letters written from Sandstone federal prison in Minnesota in 1945 Jim wrote, "The young relate the word to the deed. They are moved and inspired by example. That is why they demand heroes; nobody can talk them out of it."

Those words could not be truer. The Young Socialist Alliance has found the greatest inspiration in the example set by Jim Cannon, one of its heroes.



Andrew Pulley

Militant/Henry Snipper



Trotsky addressing Fourth Congress of the Comintern, at which Cannon was present. Cannon learned from Lenin and Trotsky the urgent need to build an international party of socialist revolution.

politics, strategy, tactics, and especially education. I recall, for example, several very important areas of party activity, which received their initial impetus from Jim's letters.

### Subscription drives

1) The proposal for a mass *Militant* subscription drive to be aimed at new readers. Jim thought he was being optimistic when he projected a tentative quota of 3,000 for a 25-cent six-month sub. I can't remember the exact figure of this subscription drive—our first since the war—but I know it exceeded the 3,000 figure.

What I do remember, however, is that soon after, in 1945, we were achieving goals of more than 20,000 in our *Militant* subscription campaigns.

first met in San Francisco in 1934, until the day he died last Wednesday.

Jim Cannon's life as a revolutionary fighter—as a leader of the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World], as a founder of the American Communist Party, and as a founder and leader of the American Trotskyist movement—will, I am convinced, provide an inspiration and a guide to all members of the SWP and YSA. And to those yet to come, who will dedicate their lives to the task of carrying forward the struggle—to which he contributed his entire adult life—to overthrow this monstrous, outworn, and decaying capitalist system and to establish a new order, the world socialist society.

This is why we will forever love and cherish the memory of our beloved friend, our comrade, and our peerless leader, Jim Cannon.

# world, if we are willing to fight for it'

**Peggy Brundy:  
'He was an active party member and educator to the end'**

In introducing Peggy Brundy, Jack Barnes first explained how Cannon's work had been organized in his last years.

"Rose Karsner and Jim Cannon set up shop on Hyperion Avenue soon after they arrived in Los Angeles," he said, "and after Rose's death (in 1968) Jim christened the house 'the Hyperion commune.' That's because the party always had a team of comrades living there with Jim. They shared the chores; they shared the education in the house; and they shared the mischief that Jim would ever so often start up."

"In addition," Barnes continued, "there was always one comrade assigned to organize the whole setup and to expedite the production of more and more of Jim's books as resources permitted. There were five who enjoyed that unique responsibility over the last seven years—Bea Hansen, Peggy Brundy, Andrea Morell, Jessica Starr, and Suzanne Weiss."

The following are Peggy Brundy's remarks on what the household was like.

Living and working with Jim, we came to know him as a revolutionary leader and as a human being. We also learned a great deal about the party and about politics.

This was no accident. Jim worked at it. But his method of educating was very, very different from the pompous, alienating variety found in colleges.

He worked at eliminating all barriers between himself and his comrades. I think we were all awe-stricken when we first met him. When I was part of the household, comrades meeting him for the first time would sometimes ask me, "How do I address him? 'Comrade Cannon'? Maybe even, 'Mr. Cannon'? Well, Jim wanted to be called . . . 'Jim'.

Education, for Jim, was a give-and-take situation, whether he was talking with a leading cadre of the party or a brand-new recruit. Anyone who worked with Jim became part of his team.

He outlined this approach toward education in a letter he wrote while he was working on his book *Letters from Prison*. He wrote: "A prime obligation of a revolutionary leader is to explain the reasons for what he proposes and does, thus enabling the entire movement to participate in his thinking."

This kind of education was an integral part of the household routine. It took place through casual conversations at the dinner table, meetings with visitors, books and papers he urged



Aug. 26, 1970. Cannon thought rise of women's liberation movement was one of the signs that the American socialist revolution is not far off.

us to read, and even jokes he told us while we were watching television. It was a continuing process. Jim didn't just give us the right answers. He tried to teach us how he approached problems.

Most of the essential lessons he drew for us are recorded in his books and are available for everyone to read and study. But occasionally he would remember a new incident in the class struggle, or a story about an individual that illustrated an important lesson. He worried about how these unrecorded anecdotes would be preserved for future generations. He sometimes said that our only hope was that the FBI had the house bugged, so that after the revolution we could transcribe the tapes. We plan to do just that.

One of the projects he carried out over the past year and a half was a series of interviews with comrades and friends—conducted largely by Harry Ring—in which he tried to pass on these previously unrecorded incidents.

He eagerly welcomed visitors. This was one of the ways he sought to keep abreast of current developments in the class struggle.

He spent hours reading each day. He studied the internal bulletins and the press of the party, and he followed the capitalist press. He subscribed to the *New York Times Book Review*, *The Nation*, and *New Republic*, as well as the papers of other tendencies. He considered this very important for keeping in touch with what was going on in the world and with how the different classes and political currents were reacting to it.

He was always thinking about ways to improve the party. His concerns ranged widely, from the problems of building the Fourth International to ideas such as the prepaid subscription card to *The Militant*.

He carried out all of these activities, and more, in spite of failing health.

## Women's rights

Jim was a longtime supporter of women's rights. His first public speech was a debate with another Rosedale, Kans., high school student on the

question, "Should women be allowed to vote?" Jim defended the affirmative—and he won.

Over the next 70 years he never changed that position of support.

In an interview he gave just last month, he said, "The party has recruited women comrades on a scale never seen before in the radical movement. Forty percent of our members are women and, I think, about 40 percent of our staff members are women. This takes place not as a quota policy, but just naturally. So many talented women have come forward to fill this or that position."

Most of all, Jim educated us by his example. When I first met him in 1968, he had been a leader of the revolutionary movement for around 60 years. *Letters from Prison* had just been published, a book that passes on to our generation many of the most basic lessons he had to teach about party building. But he was 78 years old. He was deeply shaken by the recent death of Rose Karsner.

By anybody's standards, he could have retired. He had already given the party a tremendous amount. And he could have decided to just sit back and take it easy for the rest of his life.

## Active party member

But he didn't. With the help of those who worked with him, he organized his life so that in his remaining years he could continue functioning as an active party member—to the maximum degree that he was able.

That, I think, is the primary legacy of the last years of Jim's life. In spite of personal hardships—and he suf-

fered many during those years—he remained steadfastly true to the principles that had guided him all his life. He remained convinced that there can be a better world if we are willing to fight for it.

He once said, "I came out of Rosedale, Kans., 40 years ago looking for truth and justice. I'm still looking, and I won't give 1 percent discount."

Jim Cannon's approach to life and to the party was summed up by Rose Karsner in 1962 in some remarks she made at a banquet celebrating the publication of *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. I'd like to close by quoting from what she said:

"From the moment we threw our lot in with the socialist movement, more than 50 years ago, we have never wavered in our conviction that a socialist world will come into being. Whether we live to see it or not. That's immaterial. We never faltered in our devotion to this conviction, or in our allegiance to the party we believed was working toward that end. In times of personal difficulty, and we all had them, we sometimes took out time to straighten these matters. But never with the idea of dropping out."

"Never did we feel that we were sacrificing for the party. On the contrary, we were always conscious of the fact that to have to give up the party, that would be a sacrifice. Because through activity of the party, we got fulfillment of life and satisfaction and the confidence that we were working not merely for our own little selves, but for the entire human race. We feel the same way tonight. We recommend that way to you all."

## Los Angeles

# Meeting in tribute to Jim Cannon

TUESDAY, SEPT. 3, 8 PM

710 South Westlake Ave., Los Angeles

# Fund launched to push forward the

The Aug. 23 Political Tribute to Jim Cannon culminated in a tremendous show of determination to carry forward the building of the revolutionary movement.

The more than 1,000 people who packed into the college chapel in Oberlin, Ohio, pledged or contributed \$51,350.95 to the newly launched James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.

Socialist Workers Party leader George Novack presided over the collection.

The activists present, mostly young people, were not wealthy; they were working people and college students, Black and Chicano militants, high schoolers, and full-time workers for the socialist movement. But they were inspired by the life of Jim Cannon to see beyond their own personal lives to the vision of the socialist future. And they dug into their pockets, savings accounts, or next month's wages, to make a fitting tribute to Cannon's lifelong fight for socialism.

The outpouring of contributions went on for more than an hour, with the ushers calling out the donations from the floor amid irrepressible applause. There were two contributions of \$3,000, one from Morris Starsky, whose socialist views have cost him several university teaching jobs. Starsky's civil liberties fight resulted recently in a cash settlement from one university, enabling him to set the pace for the Cannon fund.

Seven people were able to give \$1,000.

As Novack proceeded to contributions of \$500 and under, the momentum of the meeting escalated.

One usher called out, "One hundred ninety-two dollars from the Nashville Young Socialist Alliance—that's a dollar for each page of Cannon's book *Socialism on Trial*, one of the best weapons in our socialist propaganda arsenal!"

Contributions came from other YSA chapters, from a group of Mideast students, from high school students.

A Puerto Rican Trotskyist accompanied a contribution with a pledge to build toward a Trotskyist movement in Puerto Rico. An observer from

Sweden gave \$19.11 in commemoration of the date that Swedish-born revolutionist Carl Skoglund came to the United States to join Jim Cannon in building the revolutionary movement.

Other guests from around the world contributed to the fund.

Before calling for contributions of \$100 and under, Novack predicted, "Now the rafters are really going to reverberate!" And that's what happened. Donations streamed in until the meeting was closed with the singing of "The International" under the banners that set the theme for the entire conference: "Educate, agitate, organize—Build the Socialist Workers Party" and "Build the Fourth International."

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund will provide sorely needed resources for several areas of revolutionary socialist education and organization.

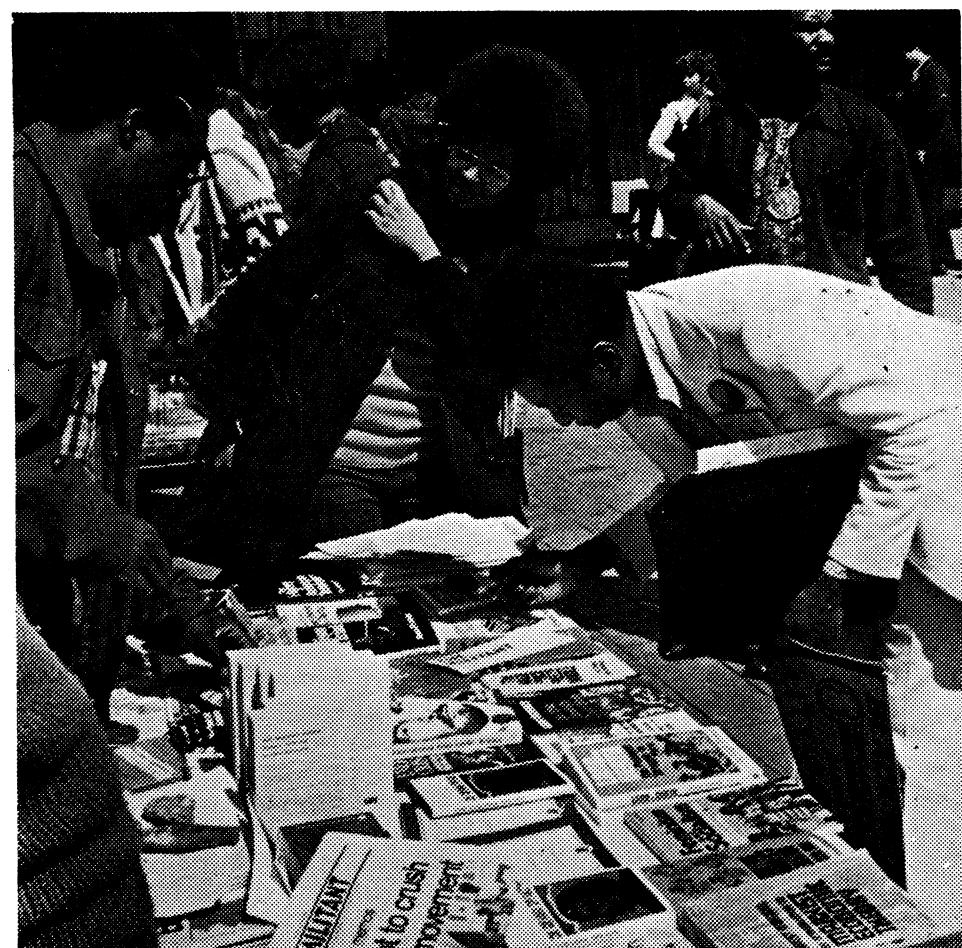
From his decades of participation in the revolutionary movement Cannon left archives of correspondence, speeches, and writings, much of which has never been published. It is only in recent years that the revolutionary socialist movement has begun to acquire the resources to begin publishing many of Cannon's works.

One goal of the Cannon fund will be to help begin to publish as much of this material as possible in order to make available to the new generation of revolutionists every contribution and lesson from Cannon's long experience.

Several days before Cannon's death, plans were announced for reprinting *America's Road to Socialism*, speeches long out of print.

Among the yet unpublished material are recent interviews by Cannon with author Sidney Lens and with a member of the Mexican Liga Socialista (Socialist League, Mexican supporters of the Fourth International), as well as about 25 hours of conversations with Harry Ring of the *Militant's* Southwest Bureau.

The fund will also ensure continued publication of *The Militant*, the newspaper launched by Cannon and a handful of cothinkers in 1928 after



Militant/Robb Wright

Cannon fund will help finance Young Socialist teams traveling throughout the country speaking and selling socialist literature.

their expulsion from the Communist Party.

The paper is in great need of financial resources, both because of higher production costs and also to meet the new opportunities from the spreading radicalization in this country. Resources are needed to ensure that the paper can continue to respond to big events in the class struggle with on-the-scene reporting and analysis, as well as to expand the number of pages and to enable the continuation of massive circulation drives.

The third big project to be aided by the fund will be the Young Socialist teams that will hit the road this fall. Fifteen cars, each carrying a team of three or four young socialists and a large quantity of socialist literature, will be driving from city to city and campus to campus

for eight weeks in October and November. In the tradition of the IWW soapboxers, among them James P. Cannon, these young people will be speaking, debating, and selling revolutionary literature wherever they can get a hearing.

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund will enable all of those who knew him personally, as well as all the young people who have learned so much from his books, to add their contribution. As George Novack stressed during the Aug. 23 tribute meeting, the new fund welcomes all donations, large or small, "because we know it is given to the best of your material capacity."

Future issues of *The Militant* will carry regular reports on the progress of the fund.

Those contributing \$50 or more may choose a complimentary copy of one of Cannon's books from the list below.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ (Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.) Please send me:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> The First Ten Years of American Communism | <input type="checkbox"/> Socialism on Trial                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The History of American Trotskyism        | <input type="checkbox"/> Speeches for Socialism               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Letters from Prison                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Speeches to the Party                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Notebook of an Agitator                   | <input type="checkbox"/> The Struggle for a Proletarian Party |

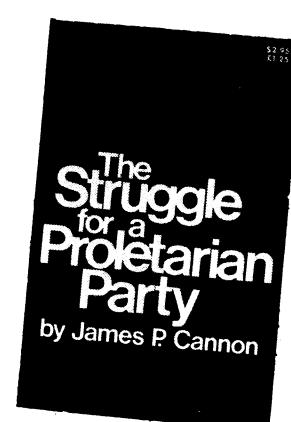
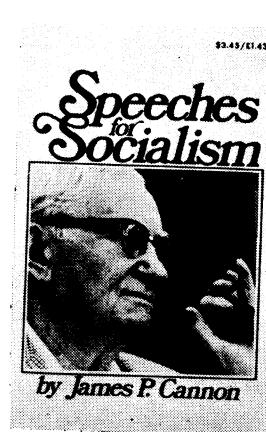
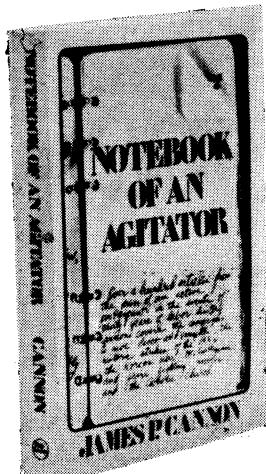
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## Contribute to the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund



# fight for socialism in the U.S.

## George Novack: 'Jim taught us what to do next-- and then to go ahead and do it'

The enormous show of revolutionary financial support at the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon was presided over by George Novack. Novack was a collaborator with Cannon in the revolutionary socialist movement for 41 years.

Jack Barnes, chairman of the meeting, noted that, "beginning with their defense of Jim as one of the victims of the Smith Act frame-up, Evelyn Reed and George Novack worked with Jim as comrades, teachers, friends—and even friendly critics once in a while. And they did it in everything from party literary work, to work in defense of civil liberties, to fund raising—conscious preparation and success in the latter being something Jim insisted on."

The following are George Novack's remarks launching the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.

Jim Cannon taught us that the imperative of practical revolutionary politics is to know what to do next—and then go ahead and do it. So what must we do after having paid tribute to Jim's achievements and set forth the significance of his career?

In the opinion of the leaderships of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, no more appropriate and urgently needed step can be taken than to launch at this meeting the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.

This is a special, once-in-a-lifetime testimonial to which all members and friends may contribute. As the name indicates, the proceeds will be used for whatever is currently required to promote the kind of party he showed us how to create.

Here, too, we can turn to his own example and take a cue from his views on the role of finances in the building of the revolutionary vanguard. These were formed very early in his activity in the class struggle.

As a young rebel, Jim became a volunteer traveling organizer for the IWW. He spoke at many an outdoor rally as an agitator. The Wobbly soapboxers were accustomed to selling literature and taking up a collection for the cause at the end of each meeting. That enabled the organizer to feed himself and get to the next town.

When a respected comrade died in the fight, the Wobblies' attitude was imperishably expressed by Joe Hill's testament: "Don't mourn, organize!"

The slogan of these educational sessions has been "Educate, agitate, organ-

nize." The whole week has objectively been a tribute to Jim. And, as its climactic act, the fund will offer to every one of us the opportunity to help continue with the work of "educating, agitating, and organizing" that Jim began 46 years ago—and to do so in his militant and self-fulfilling spirit. I say self-fulfilling rather than self-sacrificing because that's the way he looked at it.

Jim felt that this generation of party builders had succeeded in professionalizing our finances to a degree qualitatively superior to anything known before. He was most interested in hearing reports about an expansion-fund goal or a campaign rally collection, and would often marvel at the results.

One of the secretaries in his house told me that he would recall how in the early "dog days" the whole national office budget of the Trotskyist movement, including the staff, *The Militant*, and our magazine, amounted to no more than \$100 a month.

### Attitude to money

Jim had a revolutionary proletarian attitude toward money, including his own. It was something to be used, not saved up. What little money he and Rose ever had—and it was usually a party subsistence—was at

the disposal of the movement. His legacy to us was not in material things, but in ideas and force of example.

Another of his secretaries told me, "I can't think of a single item Jim owned, other than some things of sentimental value. His notion of comfort was a good cigar or pipe, a bright lamp to read by, dinner at six o'clock without fail, and a household of congenial people."

Jim knew that the socialist movement was a poor people's movement and, if it were a true and healthy workers party, that party could rely only on its own members and sympathizers to finance its revolutionary needs.

It happens by coincidence that Jim's death fell on the same day of the year, Aug. 21—and within a couple of hours—as Trotsky's 34 years before. I attended the memorial meeting held in New York City at which Jim delivered his speech "To the Memory of the Old Man," reprinted in the book *Speeches for Socialism*.

In it he answered the question that was uppermost in the minds and hearts of those present: "Will the movement which [Trotsky] created and inspired survive his death? Will his disciples be able to hold their ranks together, will they be able to carry out his testament and realize the emancipation of the oppressed through the

victory of the Fourth International?"

"Without the slightest hesitation," Jim declared, "we give an affirmative answer to this question." And the wise leadership he gave our party and the world movement demonstrated that he fulfilled his responsibilities.

### Our answer

Now we, who are Cannon's disciples, are called upon to give an equally affirmative answer. All of us can participate here and now, *to the measure of our means*, in making it possible for the party he fashioned, and the youth he cherished, to move confidently forward and take the next steps in strengthening the party of the coming American socialist revolution.

He wholeheartedly dedicated his conscious life to that glorious goal. I believe I speak the sentiment of us all in saying: We can and we will do no less.

We have not set a specific goal for the fund we are starting tonight. We know very well what the urgent needs of our movement are at this juncture. But we don't know what the will, the capacity, the ways and the means of our cadres actually are. You will have to show us and guide us by your response to this memorable occasion, to this turning point in the evolution of our movement.

## Books by James P. Cannon



*Speeches for Socialism*  
432 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.45

*Speeches to the Party: The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party*  
352 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.95

*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*  
320 pp., paper \$2.95

*The First Ten Years of American Communism*  
343 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.45

*The History of American Trotskyism*  
268 pp., paper \$2.95

*Letters from Prison*  
355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.45

*Notebook of an Agitator*  
369 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45

*Socialism on Trial*  
192 pp., paper \$2.25

Order from Pathfinder Press,  
410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

# In Our Opinion

## James P. Cannon

James P. Cannon's life spanned 66 years of revolutionary activity—from the pre-World War I socialist movement to the radicalization of today. His work has a special significance for *The Militant* since he was one of our paper's founders and its first editor.

In the current issue we pay tribute to this great American working-class leader. In coming issues we plan to review his accomplishments, reprint excerpts from his writings and speeches, and show why we consider his political course to be exemplary. We will also report the progress of the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, whose aim is to move forward the building of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country.

What was remarkable about Cannon's long life is that at each major upsurge or turning point in the working-class struggle, Cannon responded with unwavering faith in the capacity of the masses of working people to fight their own way to freedom from capitalist exploitation. He refused to capitulate in the face of ruling-class repression, imperialist war hysteria, or Stalinism.

As a working-class youth, Cannon threw himself into the strike battles and free-speech fights led by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Along with Eugene V. Debs and other opponents of imperialist war, he refused to support the slaughter of World War I. As a member of the left wing of the Socialist Party, he fought against the wing of the social-democratic movement that capitulated to the war hysteria.

In 1917 Cannon unhesitatingly took the side of the Bolshevik revolution, joining with others to found the American Communist Party.

From the Bolsheviks he learned what kind of workers organization was necessary to accomplish the difficult task of overturning the capitalist system. He saw that, unlike the syndicalist IWW or the "all-inclusive" Socialist Party, a revolutionary party had to 1) be based on a clear-cut Marxist political program; 2) be a disciplined, fighting unit with internal democracy; and 3) strive to become a *mass* party of all the oppressed.

With the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union owing to the isolation of the first workers state, Cannon rejected the Stalinist program of "socialism in one country." Together with only a handful of cothinkers expelled from the CP, he launched *The Militant* in 1928 to fight for the revolutionary international program of Marxism and Leninism.

Later Cannon and the other pioneer Trotskyists set out in collaboration with Leon Trotsky to build a new international party—the Fourth International—and a new revolutionary party in the United States—the Socialist Workers Party.

With the challenge of the massive labor upsurge of the 1930s, the American Trotskyists projected a class-struggle program among the masses of American workers and their allies, and provided leadership for important class battles such as the 1934 Teamsters strikes in Minneapolis.

During World War II Cannon and the SWP were virtually alone in refusing to support the war aims of U.S. imperialism. For this stand, 18 SWP leaders and trade unionists, including Cannon, were framed up under the Smith Act and imprisoned.

During the 1950s Cannon and the SWP refused to give up the perspective of Marxism despite the McCarthyite witch-hunt. While many other radicals, including a few inside the SWP, succumbed to the illusion of permanent American prosperity, Cannon remained confident that this country is not an exception to the laws of capitalism. He and the other central leaders of the SWP succeeded in holding the party together as an active revolutionary nucleus until times began to change in the late 1950s and 1960s.

Cannon saw the new radicalization as a preliminary stage in the radicalization of the American working class. The revolutionary leadership team he helped to forge gave full support from the start to the struggles of Black people, students, and women.

Throughout his life, Jim Cannon was a fighter against capitalist repression. His latest fight was as a plaintiff in the Watergate suit by the SWP against government surveillance and harassment. He had proof that the FBI had bugged his home.

*The Militant* is determined to help advance the struggle to which Cannon dedicated his life. We urge our readers to join us in this effort. A good way to start is by sending your contribution to the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.

## Letters

### A correction

I am a student at the University of Chicago. I would like to call your attention to an error in your article "'Ivory towers' of sexism" in *The Militant* of Aug. 16.

The article states: "At the University of Chicago the first and last woman to teach a political science course was Elizabeth Wallace—appointed in 1892!"

In fact, the Master of the Collegiate Social Sciences Division and Professor of Political Science is a woman: Suzanne Rudolph. In addition, in 1973, the university appointed another woman, Jane Mansbridge, on an alternate-year teaching schedule.

While the University of Chicago's conduct and hiring policies toward women faculty often range from objectionable to reprehensible, it seems counter-productive to cite incorrect "facts" in an article condemning sexism in academia.

Jane Ginsburg  
Chicago, Ill.

*In reply*—We stand corrected. Our information came from an article in the May 16, 1974, *New York Review of Books* by Gertrude Ezorsky titled "The Fight Over University Women." We have sent the correction on to Ezorsky.

### Arts and sciences

After reading "An artist's view" in the letters column in the July 26 issue of *The Militant*, I must agree wholeheartedly. This government supports four "service" academies, all four of which are dedicated to death and destruction. Yet there is not one entirely government-subsidized academy dedicated to the ideals of healing, creation, and the development of creative talents of the people.

In this society, scientists and researchers are reduced to moneygrubbers who must beg to receive funds to carry on their work. Photographers and artists are reduced to extolling deodorants and toothpaste if they want to live on their talent. Poets and writers are subordinated to huge publishing firms that decide the public's taste for them.

Working people must awaken to the fact that they deserve more than the dime-store kitsch of reproductions of paintings of children with large eyes and paint-by-number sets. People must change the pattern of government policy that permits the insult of letting the arts and sciences receive appropriations last and be the first to be cut back.

F. S.  
Chicago, Ill.

### A suggestion

Your continual publication of articles on violations of the 1868 treaty, against the Great Sioux people, often referred to as "Wounded Knee '73," has been as good and reliable a source of information on the issues involved as a prisoner could request—short of Native to Native communication. In this you are to be commended.

In many past issues, you have included a section titled "World Outlook" in which you have included articles from *Intercontinental Press*. I would like to suggest that articles that deal specifically with the Native American people be included in your

section titled "World Outlook."

I am appreciative of receiving each issue of *The Militant* and do like the weekly layout and form.

Your ongoing concern for the Oglala La-kota people (my own) is very beautiful to know as a prisoner. Your concern will never go unrecognized and I thank you personally.

A prisoner  
California

### 'Such is justice'

I am currently confined in a county jail. I feel that subscriptions to both *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* will help me pass my time in a productive way while awaiting trial, which in South Carolina usually takes many months. Such is justice in rich, white, America. I am three-fourths white and one-fourth Indian. Luckily, the Indian prevails in my heart.

A prisoner  
South Carolina

### Renew now

As a result of the current miserable economic situation created by our leaders in Washington, I've decided to take advantage of your offer and renew my subscription now.

You have done a remarkable job at holding your subscription rate down this long and printing an informative and *trustworthy* news-weekly. You are assured of my continued support.

While I may not agree with all you have to say, I consider your paper to be a vital source of information not obtainable through the capitalist press. I am not able to afford a contribution at this time as I am still in college, but I will do so when my means allow.

V. A.  
Newton, Mass.

[As of Sept. 15 we will be forced to raise our subscription rates. See details on page 2.]

### By accident

Found a copy of your paper by accident. Very interesting reading. Please accept my trial subscription.

C. C.  
Indianapolis, Ind.

### Herr Nixon fiasco

I just want to let you know that I'm receiving all the copies of *The Militant* now. I'm really getting into them and I'm enjoying them very much.

Although my experience with socialism is limited, I feel that the SWP in America has a lot to offer the people. After the fiasco with Herr Nixon we need something to grasp. A lot of people that I know not only in here but outside are turning away from the present form of government just because of the corrupt attitude of the politicians who supposedly represent us, the people.

My congratulations to Linda Jenness. Her article on "History of union women" was right-on and to the point. I really enjoyed it and sent a copy of it to a woman friend of mine who is a worker. I'll let



you know her reaction to the article when she writes me back.  
**A prisoner**  
California

### 'Illegal aliens'

A long article in a recent *Militant* exposed a distressing turn in the United Farm Workers' stand on "illegal aliens."

Soon after that article appeared César Chávez came to my area to lead a boycott campaign against markets carrying scab grapes, lettuce and wine. Among the literature I received was the July 31 issue of *El Malcriado*, the UFW's impressive paper, which featured an editorial in which the main attack was directed at the growers and immigration officers who have made special deals to admit "illegals," only to have them deported when they are no longer needed.

As for concrete solutions to this outrage, the UFW's line struck me as most ambiguous. On the one hand, the UFW defended the right of Mexicans or any other foreigners to immigrate, seek work and participate in union activities. On the other hand, they opposed "the practice of workers crossing an international boundary to break a strike in another country." They fail to perceive that those "illegals" who are used to break strikes are victims too. The article concluded that "illegals must either be granted full democratic rights—or they must go."

So the UFW does indeed hold out the possibility of supporting reactionary legislation aimed at sending home the "illegals," in which case their professed support for democratic rights for all immigrants is a lot of wind. But if the UFW does officially support such measures, they sure aren't advertising it.

Is it possible that the UFW is simply undecided on the issue and subject to change its position? Or is their orientation already clear despite the rhetoric? Just where does the truth lie?

**Victor Lucas**  
Springfield, Mass.

**In reply—See articles on undocumented workers beginning on page 28.**

### Harold and Maude

While I admit most of what Dianne Feeley said about *Harold and Maude* in the Aug. 16 issue was true and I thought it a pretty fair movie review, one point did strike me as rather strange: I saw *Harold and Maude* in March 1972.

Why does *The Militant* wait two-and-a-half years to review a movie? Are there no movies more current deserving of reviews?

**A. Grady**  
St. Louis, Mo.

**In reply—***Harold and Maude* was recently reissued and is again being shown around the country.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## 'The man who had no papers'

When Jim Cannon first became active in the pre-World War I radical movement, it was based largely on foreign-born workers from Europe. These immigrants were a major source of low-paid and doubly oppressed labor, in some ways like *mexicanos* today.

Then as now, the threat of deportation was a weapon used against militant workers. In the witch-hunting attack on the labor movement after World War I, wholesale deportations of noncitizens were carried out.

One of those persecuted throughout his political life by *la migra* was Carl Skoglund, a founding member of the Communist Party and later of the Socialist Workers Party.

Jim Cannon was an internationalist through and through. He had nothing but contempt for the national chauvinism of the American rulers, including their immigration restrictions. This scorn comes through clearly, if humorously, in these excerpts from a message Cannon sent to Carl Skoglund's seventieth birthday celebration, April 7, 1954:

"This jubilant birthday celebration is testimony that Carl Skoglund has done pretty well for himself in this country, considering the fact that he got started off on the wrong foot and has been standing on it—so to speak—ever since. He picked Sweden for his birthplace, without realizing that Swedish birth does not confer the right to live and breathe in this country.

"Nobody told Skogie that he had made a mistake, and he didn't ask. He arrived on these shores in 1911 and, finding the gates open, just walked in. He has been traveling around the 48 states for 43 years without proper identification papers. This sort of thing couldn't go on forever.

"Thirteen years ago, the authorities picked him up and checked their files and made an alarming discovery, which has been troubling them ever since. They looked through a thick dossier marked 'Skoglund, Carl'—and what did they see? . . .

"The record shows . . . that he had been a labor agitator, strike leader, Socialist, Communist, and general troublemaker, kicking and complaining all the time about the way things are run in this country. That was bad enough, for every right-thinking American knows that things couldn't be better. . . .

"In ransacking the voluminous files of the Immigration Department, the Department of Justice, the FBI, and the local constable, they found plenty of incriminating reports. But there was one thing they couldn't find. That was any definite proof that the subject of their inquiry had any legal existence whatever. There was no birth certificate, no entry permit, no passport, no certificate of naturalization. Nothing at all.

"By the absence of any proof to the contrary, they established the fact that 'Skoglund, Carl,' who was standing right there before them, had no legal right to be there or anywhere else. . . .

"Nevertheless, they had to tag him some way. So they just wrote down on the cover of the dossier, under the name of 'Skoglund, Carl,' in bright red ink: '*Has no papers*'.

"This was an absolutely intolerable situation, for how can this country stand if Skoglund's records are not in order? Something had to be done about it. The first thing that entered their minds, naturally, was to throw him into jail. Then his friends posted bond for him; and that created another problem for the department in charge of putting people in the right place and making sure they don't pop up in the wrong place.

"The man who had no papers had no right to be footloose in this country; but, since bond had been posted, they had no right to keep him in jail either. It was a hell of a mess, and it hasn't been straightened out yet. The whole ponderous machinery of the United States government has been working ever since to put the man who is here but shouldn't be, in some place where he should be, but isn't. But they have never yet been able to get the time and the place and Skoglund all together."

The government's persecution of Skoglund—and the SWP's fight to prevent his deportation—continued until his death in 1961. He was jailed on Ellis Island for six months in 1959, and at one point was even put on a ship.

But to the day he died, "the man who had no papers" remained—like Jim Cannon—an undaunted revolutionary fighter and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

## National Picket Line

### Frank Lovell



## Wobblies who learned

Jim Cannon always welcomed the chance to talk with workers about their unions in the early days of the CIO. He knew what was on their minds in those times of the resurgent union movement, and he talked and joked with them about their problems.

Everything he said seemed to be calculated to prepare them for what would most likely develop on the job, on the picket line, or at the union hall.

In the fall and winter of 1936, during the 99-day West Coast maritime strike, he occasionally spoke at public forums. Sailors, marine firemen, cooks, and longshoremen came to those forums. They had heard about Cannon but most knew next to nothing about Trotskyism. Many were imbued with syndicalist prejudices or infected with Stalinist poison.

Jim was patient with the syndicalist-minded seamen who thought they were continuing in the tradition of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies.

On one occasion, several of these latter-day Wobblies were arguing the virtues of revolutionary unionism and deprecating the vanguard party. Cannon told them in his easygoing way that we Trotskyists were Wobblies who had learned something from the Russian revolution—the necessity of a revolutionary working-class party.

Strike struggles in this country, Cannon explained, would benefit from the Bolsheviks' example. Strikes were weakened in some cases by a syndicalist outlook that ignored the political needs of the workers, and were endangered in other instances by the class-collaborationist policies of the Stalinists and the old-line labor bureaucrats. Both dangers stalked the 1936 maritime strike.

Jim often told them about the Trotskyist leadership of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike, and about

how to avoid the mistakes of syndicalism and at the same time defeat the treachery of Stalinism.

He never missed an opportunity to teach the need for a revolutionary party as opposed to talented leaders who operated in the mass movement without the benefit of such a party. Being in a revolutionary party helps to keep them in tune with the needs of the working class. It helps develop a layer of new leaders to extend the struggle against the employing class beyond the confines of a single union or one industry or even a country as large and powerful as the United States.

An example of Cannon's appeal became clear to me when I was aboard a ship bound for Bristol Bay on the west coast of England in the final days of World War II.

A sailor on that ship had brought along some books by Marx, Lenin, and others and was studying them and often came to my forecastle to discuss what he was reading. He was making slow headway and was getting discouraged. But during the trip his attitude changed.

He later told me that he thought scientific socialism was too complicated for him until he started to read some books and pamphlets by Cannon. He had discovered *The History of American Trotskyism* and *Socialism on Trial*.

This sailor was so excited about his new finds that he suggested that we should hire this man Cannon to explain the ideas of Marx and Lenin. But Jim Cannon at that time had already put in more than 25 years explaining and applying basic revolutionary ideas—he didn't need to be hired.

Just as with that sailor, Cannon's ideas are bound to be of great value to the new generation of young workers who must defend themselves against the current attacks of the employing class.

# The Great Society

## Jim Cannon's sense of humor

Future historians will undoubtedly assess Jim Cannon as one of the major figures of our time. He was also a very human human being.

He had many of the problems and failings that afflict all of us in this society. He also had qualities that led his friends to love him very deeply indeed.

I was fortunate in that I conducted a series of interviews with him during the past year and got to know him a lot more. The experience was as rewarding personally as it was politically.

I especially appreciated his sense of humor and his attitude toward humor. He felt strongly that humor, properly employed, was an important weapon in the arsenal of socialist propaganda.

I was gratified that he considered *The Great Society* a contribution to lightening the pages of our paper a bit, and I came to notice the particular importance he attached to people having—or not having—a sense of humor.

When, in the interviews, he was offering word portraits of various figures in the early communist movement, he would recount a good story someone told 50 years ago, or an especially cogent political crack someone made in the factional battles of the time.

And in recalling a solid political witticism by Earl Browder, he commented somewhat pointedly, "It was the only witty thing I ever heard him say."

His appreciation of humor wasn't limited to politics. A few weeks before he died he visited a new doctor because his old one was unavailable. When the doctor asked how he was, he replied that he was experiencing an upsurge of lethargy. The doctor asked him to describe the conditions.

"Maybe," I suggested, "he was just playing straight man."

"No," Jim replied, "I don't think he has a sense of humor."

Later I mentioned that many of those who would

Harry Ring



be attending the socialist educational conference in Ohio would be flying. Jim responded that it was even an improvement over when he had "ridden the cushions" to the 1911 IWW convention in Chicago. He relished the story.

He and a friend had gotten to that convention from Kansas City by signing up for railroad laboring jobs in Bloomington, Ind. The deal included free rail fare and they found "riding the cushions" much superior to their customary mode of travel—riding the rods, or in the boxcars.

When they arrived in Bloomington they made their way to the edge of town and hopped a freight for the remaining distance to Chicago.

Jim assured me he would have since compensated the railroad involved but he couldn't remember which it was. He also confided that he told the story only because he assumed the statute of limitations applied.

## Women In Revolt

### 'Greatest jailbreak in history'

James P. Cannon was a firm partisan of the women's liberation movement.

He saw our fight for such things as child-care centers and the right of women to good jobs as pointing the way to a higher social organization of human productivity and relationships. He particularly admired the abortion rights movement's confident challenge of the Catholic church hierarchy, which he referred to as the "totalitarian enemy of enlightenment and freedom."

On one of my visits with Jim, he told of a trip he and Rose Karsner made to the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. He talked about the communal food services where people could pick out a complete meal from a wide selection, take it to their room or apartment, and later return the dishes.

Although far from completed, he stressed, the beginnings of communally organized home services in the new workers state—laundry, house-cleaning, cooking—was a step in the right direction toward women's emancipation.

Cannon elaborated on this concept in a series of lectures in the 1950s. They were later published in a pamphlet titled *America's Road to Socialism*.

Here are some of his thoughts on what socialist America will look like:

"The average poor housewife in this country is made to think that she was born into this glorious world for the chief purpose of fighting dust and wrestling pots and pans. That's not true. Women are capable of participating in all avenues of activity, in all trades, in all sciences, in all arts. . . .

"One thing I'm absolutely sure is going to happen early in the period of the workers government, maybe during the first five-year plan. Under the slogan of more efficiency in production, reinforced by moral arguments which are powerful in the case—the rights of women to leisure and freedom for cultural and spiritual growth—there will be a tremendous popular movement of women to bust up this medieval institution of 40 million separate kitchens and 40 million different housewives cooking, cleaning, scrubbing, and fighting dust.

"Thirty or 40 million women every day of the year trudging to the market, each one loading her separate basket and lugging it home to cook 30 or 40 million different meals for 30 or 40 million different families. What a terrible waste of energy, waste of productivity; to say nothing of the cultural waste, to say nothing of the imposition upon the women victims.

"The enlightened socialist women will knock the hell out of this inefficient, unjust, and antiquated system. The mass emergence of the socialist women from the confining walls of their individual kitchens will be the greatest jailbreak in history—and the most beneficent. Women, liberated from the prison of the kitchen, will become the free companions of free men.

"The drudgery of housework will be organized like any other division of labor, on an efficient communal basis, so that women can begin to have some leisure too. . . .

"By this forecast I do not mean to draw a picture of regimentation. Just the opposite, for any kind of regimentation such as that imposed by the present social order will be utterly repugnant to the free and independent citizens of the socialist future. They will live the way they want to live, and each individual—within the limits of his general obligation to society—will decide for himself. Better, in this case, say 'herself'—for old-fashioned reactionaries who ignorantly think they know what 'woman's place' is, will run up against the hard fact—for the first time since class society began—that women will have something to say about that, and what they will say will be plenty."

Baxter Smith



## By Any Means Necessary

### 'Reason and right to be revolutionary'

A benchmark of the two organizations of U.S. Trotskyism, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, has always been their steadfast support to the struggles of Blacks. And that tradition we owe in part to the influence of the leaders of the Russian revolution and those early American communists, such as James P. Cannon, who began to learn from the Bolsheviks.

The beginnings of this process are discussed in "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," part of Cannon's book *The First Ten Years of American Communism*.

"A serious analysis of the whole complex process," wrote Cannon, "has to begin with recognition that the American communists in the early Twenties, like all other radical organizations of that and earlier times, had nothing to start with on the Negro question but an inadequate theory, a false or indifferent attitude and the adherence of a few individual Negroes of radical or revolutionary bent."

"The earlier socialist movement, out of which the Communist Party was formed, never recognized any need for a special program on the Negro question. It was considered purely and

simply as an economic problem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists. . . ."

Cannon describes the traditional position of American radicalism at the time as a "form of evasion." "The old theory of American radicalism turned out in practice," he wrote, "to be a formula for inaction on the Negro front, and—incidentally—a convenient shield for the dormant racial prejudices of the white radicals themselves."

But with the triumph of the Russian revolution and the formation of the U.S. Communist Party, things began to change.

The Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, were sensitive to the oppression that nationalities suffered in Russia under the Tsar and everywhere sought to end it. Cannon, a founder of the U.S. Communist Party, said this sensitivity began to rub off on the early American communists.

"The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russians in the Comintern, were slowly and painfully learning to change their attitude; to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a *special* question of doubly-exploited second-class citizens, requiring

a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it."

Cannon's essay was written in 1959 and he commented on the developing civil rights movement.

"The aspirations of the Negro people are great and so are the energies and emotions expended in their struggle," he wrote. "But the concrete gains of their struggle up to date are pitifully meager. They have gained a few inches, but the goal of real equality is miles and miles away."

"The right to occupy a vacant seat on a bus . . . fair employment rights on the books, but not in practice; the formally and legally recognized right to equality which is denied in practice at every turn—that's the way it is today, 96 years after the Emancipation Proclamation."

He predicted, "In the next stage of its development, the American Negro movement will be compelled to turn to a more militant policy than gradualism, and to look for more reliable allies than capitalist politicians in the North who are themselves allied with the Dixiecrats of the South. The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary."

# Join Sept. protests against Chile junta!

During the week of September 4-11, thousands of people throughout the world will participate in actions in solidarity with victims of repression in Chile. Sept. 11 marks the first anniversary of the coup that overthrew the government of Salvador Allende and installed a brutal military dictatorship over the Chilean people.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has issued a call for demonstrations September 4-11 in as many U.S. cities as possible, demanding: Free all political prisoners in Chile; End the ban on trade unions and political parties; No U.S. aid to the Chilean military dictatorship. The Rome-based United Chilean Left, composed mainly of exiled supporters of Allende's Popular Unity government, has likewise urged international shows of solidarity with the Chilean people during this week.

In dozens of U.S. cities groups have responded to these calls and are planning picket lines, teach-ins, rallies, and news conferences.

In New York City, a September Chile Action Coalition has been formed. The coalition is composed of more than 25 groups, including USLA, Chile Solidarity Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, New American Movement, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Attica Brothers Legal Defense, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and numerous other organizations.

The coalition is organizing two events—a rally-concert and a picket line. The rally-concert, scheduled for 7:30 p.m., Sept. 6, at Columbia University, will hear Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's union; Lennox Hines, National Black Lawyers Guild; Herbert X Blyden, an Attica defendant; Uruguayan folk singer Daniel Viglietti; and many others. Attempts are under way to obtain a visa for Armando Arancibia, undersecretary of economics under Allende, so he can address the rally.

The picket line is scheduled for Sept. 11, 4:30 p.m., at the office of International Telephone and Telegraph—a symbol of U.S. involvement in the coup.

In Philadelphia, the Chile Emergency Committee (CEC), USLA, and other Chile defense groups are building a picket line to be held Sept. 11 at Sun Shipyards in nearby Chester, where work is done on Chilean naval vessels. USLA is also sponsoring a rally Sept. 13 around the theme "Chile—One Year After the Coup—The

Junta on Trial!" The CEC will hold a rally Sept. 18.

It was not possible to hold a joint rally in Philadelphia because of the CEC's sectarian line. The CEC took the position that any rally had to have as its political focus support to the United Chilean Left. CEC organizers insisted that support to this formation be a condition placed upon all speakers.

USLA supporters, on the other hand, felt that the strongest protest could be mounted by inviting the participation of all opponents of the repression, regardless of their position on the various Chilean political organizations.

Protests are also scheduled in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Seattle, Boston, and many other U.S. cities, as well as in Canada.

These protests can put pressure on the military dictatorship in Chile. Faced with such protests in the past, the junta has often chosen to retreat from some of its murderous policies rather than risk further isolation in world opinion.

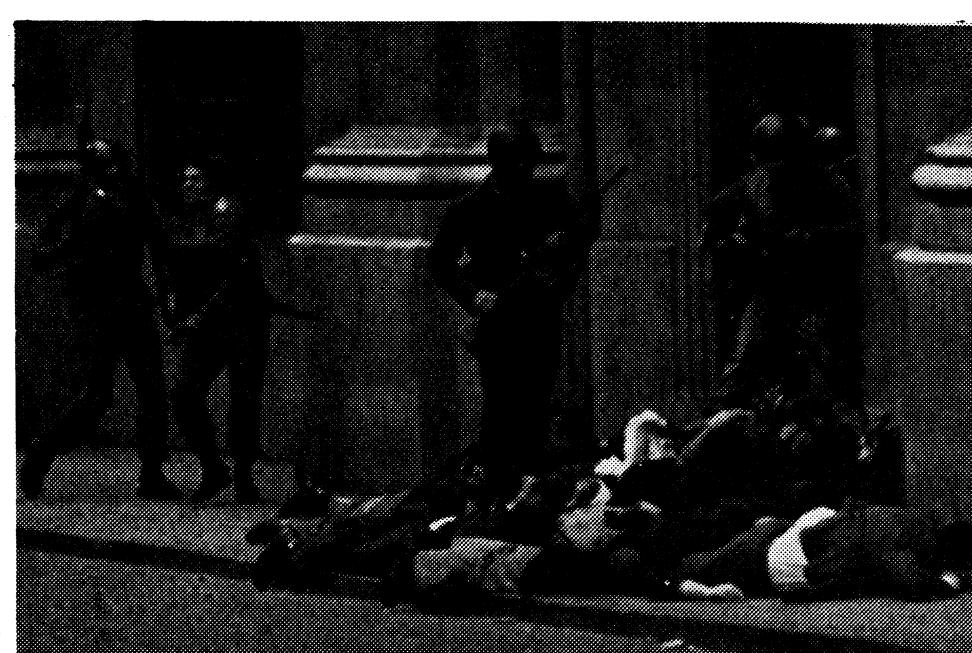
The September protests come at a time when there is renewed attention toward the repression in Chile. The Organization of American States (OAS) recently called upon the junta to end its physical and psychological torture of political prisoners. The OAS team spent 15 days in Chile, investigating alleged violations of human rights. USLA had presented the OAS with documentation of torture of women prisoners in Chile, and demanded that they visit the prison camps where the women are being held. The OAS report on its findings is expected soon.

Available at the September actions will be a book, *Chile's Days of Terror*, prepared by USLA. The book consists of interviews with eyewitnesses to the coup, obtained by members of the USLA staff. The introduction is written by Jose Yglesias. (\$1.75 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.)

PHILADELPHIA—More than 60 people attended a meeting here July 31 to hear a report from Dolores Schaffer of the USLA national office.

Schaffer discussed the campaign USLA is waging against the brutal torture of women political prisoners in Chile. She pointed out that women are among the worst victims of the junta's terror.

People at the meeting were encouraged to send telegrams and letters to the Pinochet regime, demanding that these women be freed.



Worldwide protests can help stop Chilean junta's terror and torture

# Sept. 10 independence set for Guinea-Bissau

By BAXTER SMITH

The weakest link in Portuguese colonial rule in Africa is set to snap Sept. 10 when Guinea-Bissau is to be granted independence in accordance with an agreement signed by officials of the Portuguese government and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) on Aug. 26.

Independence for Guinea-Bissau will end five centuries of direct Portuguese rule there, the past 11 years being marked by bloody warfare.

The agreement says the two countries will "establish and develop relations of active cooperation, notably in the economic, financial, cultural and technical fields, on a basis of independence, mutual respect, equality, reciprocity of interests and harmonious relations between the citizens of both republics."

Independence underlines Portugal's realization that because its war machine could not whip the rebels, and the war was causing problems at home, it had to find a way out.

But a question is posed by Lisbon's action: Is a chain only as strong as its weakest link? And if so, how soon will it break in Angola and Mozambique? And what about the Cape Verde Islands?

The pact contains a provision for a referendum on the future of the Cape Verde Islands. It is to be held at some unspecified date, but the island's independence is categorically denied at this time.

PAIGC had demanded independence for both the islands and Guinea-Bissau at the same time, but Lisbon is said to be holding out because of their strategic value to NATO, of which Portugal is a member.

Under the Aug. 26 agreement, all Portuguese troops are supposed to be out of Guinea-Bissau by Oct. 31.

A Portuguese representative to the United Nations said two weeks ago, however, that the 20,000 troops there included doctors, and engineers building roads. Many may stay on "to help with education, health, and similar programs," the *New York Times* said, but it added that a troop airlift had begun.

Last September, PAIGC declared Guinea-Bissau to be independent, and more than 100 nations have since recognized it.

President of the new nation—which is twice the size of New Jersey and contains half a million people, 3,000 of whom are white—is Luis Cabral, brother of the slain founder of PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral.

The United Nations Security Council has unanimously recommended Guinea-Bissau's admission to the UN General Assembly when it opens Sept. 8.

Of all its colonies on the African continent, Guinea-Bissau was the least valuable to Portugal. It has little industry, and most of the economy is agricultural. There is some oil, and a large deposit of bauxite was discovered two years ago, which has yet to be mined.

The real wealth lies in the colonies of Mozambique, Angola, and the enclave of Cabinda, none of which Portugal wants to free. Two years is what Lisbon says is required before Angola is "ready" for independence.

But while Lisbon is opting for "colonial" regimes in those colonies rather than direct rule by rebel organizations, the populations are becoming more and more aroused.

Many whites have simply decided to leave. In Luanda, Angola's capital, commercial flights to Lisbon have been so tightly booked that in mid-August special Boeing 707s and 747s



were chartered to fly fearful whites back to Portugal.

In the meantime, white desperation and violence against Black citizens have increased. Even Black Portuguese soldiers have had it rough. The Aug. 17 Johannesburg *Star* told of a group of Black and white soldiers who confronted a crowd of fear-maddened whites. A white soldier told them that he, too, was fed up and just wanted to go home and see his wife and children in Lisbon. Then:

"The crowd was silent for a minute—but their own prejudices and fears were too strong for sympathy or understanding.

"The insults, and the spittle, flew again...

"This time their butt was a Black soldier. He tried to walk away to cries of 'dirty nigger' and 'kill the Black bastard,' but they cornered him and his White colleagues had to protect him."

## 'Portugal out now'

The *Militant* has received word of three protests occurring in the past two weeks against Portugal's refusal to grant immediate independence to all its African colonies.

An Aug. 15 downtown picket in Detroit drew 125 people. Sponsors included Mayor Coleman Young; Detroit Common Council; the Young Socialist Alliance; Doug Fraser, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Republic of New Africa; Congress of African People; Association of Black Students at Wayne State University; Abdeen Jabara, Arab-American University Graduates; Milt Tamber, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 1640; and others.

An Aug. 1 teach-in on Portugal and Africa at the California State University at Los Angeles campus heard Reverend Al Dortch, and Omari Musa of the Socialist Workers Party.

On Aug. 3 in Los Angeles, pickets gathered at the Portuguese government trade office, demanding "Portugal Out of Africa." The action was sponsored by the Pasadena Community Information Center, Reverend Edgar Edwards, SWP, and James Payne of the Pan-African studies department at Cal. State L.A.

# ...the fight against deportations

Continued from page 28

*La migra* doesn't deport people in order to protect jobs for American workers as opposed to "illegals." *La migra* is working for the employers.

When hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers slip across the border, it's because *la migra* has decided to look the other way. But they always harass *mexicanos* and use the threat of deportation to keep them intimidated and docile, willing to work at the worst jobs for the lowest wages, and afraid to speak out when they are cheated.

Actually Uncle Sam's manipulation begins, not at the border, but back in Mexico and throughout Latin America. The U.S. corporations that dominate the economies of these countries are responsible for underdevelopment and poverty. And it is because of these conditions that so many are willing to endure the hostility and humiliation of coming here in search of work. They are truly refugees from hunger.

Because of the profitability of exploiting undocumented workers, it is hardly surprising that no politician of the Democratic and Republican parties—the twin parties of the capitalists—is standing up and defending the rights of these workers.

The laws proposed by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Congressman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) that would supposedly punish employers for "knowingly" hiring "illegal aliens" are no solution at all.

These laws include carefully designed loopholes to make sure no boss will ever really suffer. The laws will only make undocumented workers even more vulnerable to victimization.

There is only one way to end the abuses, the corruption, and the use of undocumented workers as strikebreakers, and that is to completely remove the "illegal" status. Modifying the law is not enough. We must do away with all restrictions on immigration.

## Socialist position

The socialist position is that all persons who want to live or work here should have the full rights of citizens. The platform of Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, calls for ending all harassment of undocumented workers, and demands full civil rights and the right to a job at union wages for everyone, regardless of citizenship.

Rodriguez calls for abolishing work permits and ending restrictions on money sent home. She supports the

unrestricted right to cross the border and the rights of all workers to vote; to join organizations; to seek employment and housing; to attend school; and to receive welfare, unemployment compensation, and Social Security.

The entire apparatus of immigration regulation is 100 percent reactionary and should be abolished.

Only by fighting for such a program can the union movement begin to deal with the issue of undocumented workers. By recruiting all workers into the unions and championing the cause of *mexicanos* without papers, the unions will find a powerful ally with whom they have truly united interests.

## Meany's chauvinism

But instead of showing solidarity with undocumented workers, the leadership of the AFL-CIO has taken just the opposite course. George Meany and the other racist, conservative bureaucrats who run the AFL-CIO support the Rodino Bill and demand a crackdown on "illegals."

A pamphlet published this year giving the AFL-CIO officialdom's evaluation of the Ninety-third Congress states:

"The AFL-CIO has long advocated congressional action to 'enact laws and provide for their effective enforcement' to stop 'the employment of illegal aliens and bring under control the existing widespread use of Mexican commuters.'

The availability of these aliens for low-paid jobs has resulted not only in narrowing employment opportunities for American workers in the border states but also in undermining working and living conditions in these areas and, where these workers have been employed as strikebreakers in labor disputes, a weakening of the collective bargaining rights of union workers."

This chauvinist position is a poison concocted by the bosses and brought into the unions. It tells workers to blame their problems of unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions, and strikebreaking on their fellow workers, the "illegals."

But the fact is that the profit-gouging capitalists and their inhuman system are responsible for these evils. To win better wages and working conditions, jobs for all, and stronger unions, what is needed is solidarity—the united strength of all the workers.

## Utopian fantasy

For the AFL-CIO leaders to embrace the bosses' racist attitude toward workers without papers is morally repulsive



Recent antideportation demonstration in Los Angeles

Militant/Miguel Pendas

to anyone who views *mexicanos* as brothers and sisters. But it also weakens the unions themselves, because it fosters divisions of the working class that can only benefit the bosses.

To pit "American" workers against "illegals" is essentially no different from pitting skilled craft workers against the mass of industrial workers, or the employed against the unemployed, or white against Black.

Any such scheme for preserving the jobs or wages of some workers at the expense of others is a utopian fantasy. While it may seem to offer some short-term gains, at least for a few, it will always rebound against the unions, because it gives the bosses a golden opportunity to use those scorned and discriminated against by the unions as strikebreakers.

The perspective of union solidarity with the undocumented workers is the *really* practical approach—the one that can get results. It is not impractical "idealism" as some union officials would say.

If any approach is up in the clouds, it is the one that says you can solve the problem of strikebreakers by relying on the government. *La migra* is going to help unions in their fight with the bosses? You might as well pick up the phone and call Giumarra, DiGiorgio, H. M. Tenneco, or the High and Mighty Farms. Tell them you're trying to win a strike and would they please get rid of the scabs.

## National divisions

Ultimately, revolutionary socialists believe, the whole problem will be resolved when humanity does away with borders that act as walls between peoples.

The current division of the peoples of the world into nation-states did not always exist. These nation-states arose along with the capitalist economic system, beginning in the sixteenth century. They were a step forward from the even more chaotic and irrational political and economic forms that existed before.

In those days, to conduct trade between one province and another, or even between some towns, was more complicated than going through customs at L.A. International Airport today. This was an intolerable situation that was holding back economic progress. As modern countries were forged, all those feudal cobwebs were swept away and free trade was instituted within national borders.

Today, by creating a world market and a world economy, capitalism has tied all peoples and countries together.

But the capitalists of each country cling to their own nation-state as a weapon against the capitalists of other countries and against the workers at home.

These states are used to conduct trade wars, and at certain times shooting wars, against other countries—and it is always the workers who bear the brunt of such wars. They are used to keep the colonial and semicolonial countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa underdeveloped and poverty-stricken while their resources are plundered. Thus the national divisions perpetuated by the capitalists are used against the workers and oppressed people of the world.

## Struggle for socialism

In the struggle for socialism, how will these divisions be resolved? The answer is twofold. In imperialist, oppressor countries such as the United States, revolutionary socialists fight against national chauvinism, patriotism, the maintenance of "protective" borders, and any restrictions on immigration.

On the other hand, the struggle of oppressed nations and nationalities (like Chicanos) for self-determination, including the right to set up their own nation-state and establish their own boundaries, strikes at the capitalists' exploitation of these peoples, and can be an integral part of their fight for liberation.

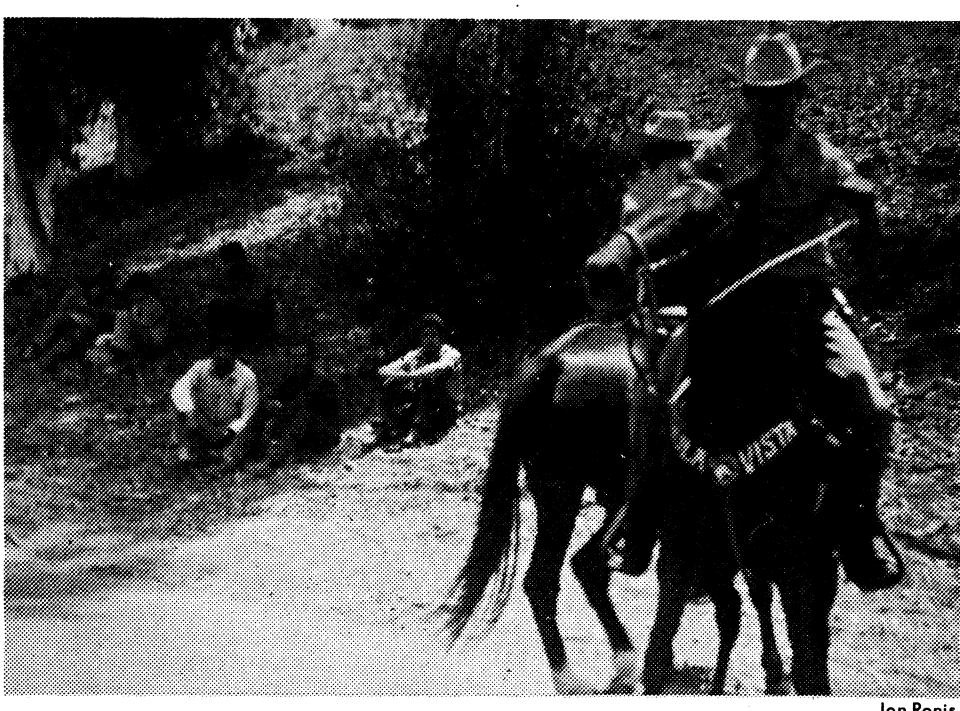
Such national liberation struggles are an important aspect of the struggle for a world socialist society in which everyone will have the right to live, work, and travel wherever they want to.

Today the most effective thing we in the U.S. can do is to mobilize the sentiment that already exists on behalf of undocumented workers, and work to persuade the masses of the American people that their interests lie with their fellow workers, of whatever nationality.

"Workers of the world, unite!" and "An injury to one is an injury to all!" should be the watchwords of the trade-union and Chicano movements.

Campaigns of demonstrations and education demanding, "Stop deportations," like the actions carried out against the dragnet raids last summer, are a way of winning support. The outcry against those raids succeeded in forcing them to be sharply curtailed by a Supreme Court ruling.

Every victory, no matter how modest, points to the day when the border and its abuses will be eliminated once and for all.



Jon Ronis

Suspected 'illegals' are detained by vigilantes in Chula Vista, Calif. These vigilantes are racist volunteers, not cops, and their use is illegal even under federal immigration laws. Chicanos have been organizing protests against this harassment.

## Socialist candidate speaks out

# UFW should back undocumented workers

By OLGA RODRIGUEZ

LOS ANGELES— Demonstrations are taking place Aug. 31 here and in other cities to demand an end to harassment and deportation of undocumented workers. But unfortunately these actions are taking place without the support of the leadership of the United Farm Workers (UFW).

*La causa*, the struggle of the farm workers, has long been a rallying point for the entire Chicano movement.

Since spring 1973 the UFW has been the target of a concerted union-

**Olga Rodriguez is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California.**

busting attack by the agribusiness corporations, the government, and the corrupt officials of the Teamsters union.

There is an urgent need for solidarity with the embattled UFW—for a massive boycott campaign to mobilize the Chicano community, the labor movement, and all who support the right of farm workers to dignity, decent wages and working conditions, and the union of their choice.

This makes it all the more important to speak out against the incorrect stand taken by the top UFW leadership toward workers without papers, the so-called illegal aliens. The UFW leadership's call for mass deportations, going so far as to report workers to *la migra*, is both a betrayal of millions of oppressed *mexicano* workers and a grave danger for the UFW itself.

UFW President César Chávez has issued statements to the media about a "flood of illegal aliens." He calls them an "invasion [which] has reached epidemic proportions," and, echoing racist smears against Mexicans, claims they pose a "threat to the health of all people."

Chávez's charge of "a deliberate misallocation of Border Patrol offices away from California" clearly implies a call for more of the hated *migra* cops to be sent here.

The July 31 issue of the UFW newspaper *El Malcriado* carries an editorial trying to justify this policy and put the best possible face on it. The editorial points to the vicious exploita-



Olga Rodriguez on United Farm Workers picket line.

tion of undocumented workers, how they are cheated, oppressed, and denied their rights. It also points to the utter corruption of the Immigration Service and its collusion with the growers in using "illegals" as a pool of low-paid labor and as strikebreakers.

*El Malcriado* says the UFW supports the right of any worker to immigrate to the United States, and calls for granting full democratic and civil rights to all immigrant workers, including the right to collective bargaining.

But this is phrased in a strange way: "The position of the United Farm Workers of America is undaunted—the 'illegals' must either be granted full democratic rights, including the right to join a union of their own choosing, or they must go." (Emphasis added.)

What does this mean? It is obvious that undocumented workers do not have their full democratic rights, and they will not win them without a powerful fight against the government, a fight the UFW should wholeheartedly join in.

But *El Malcriado*'s position really means capitulating to the government. It says to the government, in effect,

"Since you, proven enemy of *mexicanos* and all other farm workers, have not seen fit to grant 'illegals' democratic rights, then go ahead and throw them out."

All the words of sympathy for undocumented workers count for nothing if in practice the UFW officials side with *la migra*, calling upon it to deport our brothers and sisters.

Evidently sensitive to the widespread opposition in the Chicano community to the UFW's prodeportation campaign, *El Malcriado* writes, "There are those who decry the position of the UFW. But these people are unclear about the union's position, nor have they struggled for a decade to build a union, only to see it attacked by police, by the courts, by Teamster goon squads and, finally, by strikebreakers from another country."

The UFW has a right to keep scabs—whether citizens or undocumented workers—out of the fields. There is no question about that. But calling on the government to deport scabs is not the answer. Can anyone really expect the same cops and courts who are out to destroy the UFW, the same Border Patrol that works hand in glove with the growers, to suddenly have a change of heart and do the union's job of clearing out scabs?

To be able to shut down the fields, farm workers can only rely on their own strength and the support they can mobilize from the Chicano community, the labor movement, and other allies. Strengthening the union calls for winning the allegiance of undocumented workers by championing their cause.

How can the UFW expect undocumented workers to risk their jobs and

livelihood for the union if union officials are vying with the boss to see who can be first to call *la migra* to have them deported? The UFW leaders are telling farm workers to rely on their worst enemies, the cops, rather than on their potential allies, the undocumented workers.

Moreover, it is clear Chávez is now calling for the deportation of all undocumented workers, not just those used as strikebreakers, in terms that come ever closer to those used by the racist AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

This is a life-and-death question for the United Farm Workers. By persisting in its incorrect position, the Chávez leadership could destroy the union's potential for winning over undocumented workers, who make up such a large proportion of farm labor. And it could forfeit much of its support in the Chicano community, where sympathy for undocumented workers runs deep.

It is not too late to reverse this course. A full discussion is needed among UFW members and supporters, boycott activists, and antideportation activists.

How much better it would be for the UFW to oppose all victimizations of undocumented workers and give full support to antideportation actions such as the Aug. 31 moratorium and future demonstrations. The UFW could take the lead in fighting within the union movement for a position of solidarity with the undocumented workers.

Such a course would win fresh support for the UFW and strengthen immeasurably the fight for justice for all farm workers.

## Further reading

ON ISSUES FACING THE CHICANO MOVEMENT...

BERT CORONA SPEAKS on La Raza Unida Party & The 'Illegal Alien' Scare in English or Spanish. 35 cents.

VIVA LA HUELGA! The Struggle of the Farm Workers by Jose G. Perez. 25 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



# CASA's letter to United Farm Workers

Several chapters of the antideportation organization CASA issued an open letter July 20 to the United Farm Workers union (UFW), taking issue with the UFW's call for mass deportation of undocumented workers. The CASA statement is reprinted in full below.

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We are in fullest support of your struggle through your strikes, boycotts, and organizing efforts to build a strong, democratic, rank-and-file controlled union. We have always been, and always will be, opposed to the growers and all of their agents and spokesmen such as the contractors, the Immigration Service, and the corrupt officials of the Teamsters union who are attacking you now.

Because we stand with you we cannot understand and lament the press statements issued through the Associated Press in which officials of the UFW are quoted as asking for the removal through the Immigration Service and the Border Patrol of all workers without documents, because "they are taking jobs of farm work-

ers and posing a threat to the health of all people. . . .

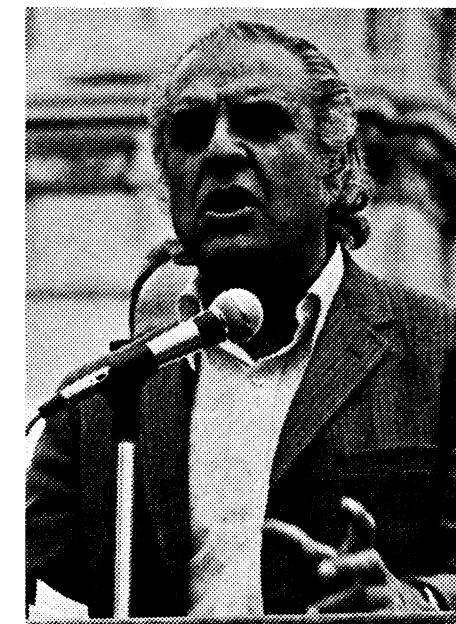
"Many of the illegals suffer from contagious diseases, but are afraid to get medical aid for fear of being deported," is the way it is stated.

All of us in CASA and the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices condemn and always will condemn the use of strikebreakers whether they be native-born, with visas, or without. At this moment we are engaged in support of many workers in several industries who are on strike. We are actively supporting all efforts to get the strikebreakers out of the plants and oppose the bosses' continued recruitment of strikebreakers.

We think that all workers have the right to seek work in order to support themselves and their families, but not by breaking strikes of other workers. However, when we ask for the deportation of all the workers who have no visas, we are attacking many good union brothers and sisters that have no visas but would never break a strike.

Especially among Mexican and

Latin American workers in this country for the past 100 years there has been a glorious record of militant union labor struggles against not only agribusiness, but against the meat-



Militant/Flax Hermes

Bert Corona, leader of antideportation organization CASA.

packing monopolies, railroad companies, mining corporations, and many other exploiters of labor.

The bosses' traditional response has been to deport not only the leaders of these strikes, but the strikers themselves. Thus, when a union calls on the Immigration Service to help them, it is calling on a traditional tool of the employers. The Immigration Service then deports the strikers and many other innocent people too.

The basic immigration laws (Walter-McCarran) and their practices against our people are and have always been antiworker, antihuman, and unconstitutional. Thus, to call on the Immigration Service is to fall into the bosses' trap of pitting workers against workers on the basis of immigration status under an oppressive law which was put on the books by the very group of Nixon-type Watergaters in 1952. We ask you to withdraw or correct these press statements and your petition, which is also doing the same type of damage to workers' unity.

For the unity of all workers!  
Viva la Huelga!

# How big is the Rockefeller financial

By DICK ROBERTS

A member of the wealthiest and most powerful capitalist family in the world has become vice-president-designate of the United States.

In the wake of Watergate it will be necessary for Congress to put on a show of investigating Nelson Rockefeller's fortune. The Senate Rules Committee and the House Judiciary Committee have scheduled hearings.

The media have already given a glimpse of Rockefeller holdings:

- Their modest six-bedroom summer place in Seal Harbor, Maine. "The house is decorated with Indian, Chinese and Japanese art," according to the Aug. 25 *New York Times*. "In the nearby boathouse is Mr. Rockefeller's conference room-study, hung with Picasso tapestries. In the cove are the boats, ranging from a 65-foot yawl, the Nirvana, and a 21-foot sloop, the Queen Mary, to a Boston whaler and a five-seat rubber motorboat . . ."

- Their 25-room (seven bedrooms, five bathrooms), 37-acre house on Washington, D.C.'s Foxhall Road, the city's most expensive and swankiest real estate area. But the Rockefellers don't plan to live there while serving the public. They will occupy the not-so-spacious official vice-president's residence.

- Their 18,000-acre ranch in Venezuela.

- Their 32-room duplex on Fifth Avenue in New York City, housing part of Rockefeller's 1,500-piece primitive and modern art collection, possibly the largest privately owned in the world.

- And, of course, the family principality, the 4,180-acre Pocantico estate in New York's Westchester county, surrounded by barbed wire fences and guarded by a private police force. One can only guess at the size of the main house, built in 1908 by John D. Rockefeller Sr.

The "inner" estate at Pocantico includes a golf course, a Japanese tea house, guest cottages, and a miniature Versailles known as the "playhouse."

- As well, their fleet of eight planes, including a 15-seat, \$4.5-million Grumman Gulfstream 2, a jet with intercontinental range. Now, however, Rockefeller will use a government Convair while in office.

## Standard Oil

This is the visible wealth of one of the descendants of John D. Rockefeller Sr. Nelson Rockefeller's personal income is also by no means small, although the exact size is unknown. *Time* magazine noted, "One estimate, made in 1959 when he became Governor of New York, put his dividend income at \$80,000 — each week. In 1964 his various investments were believed to return some \$5 million a year."

But it is not the individual wealth of Nelson Rockefeller that constitutes the real power of the Rockefeller empire. This is derived from John D. Rockefeller Sr.'s holding in the mighty Standard Oil trust.

That initial holding, which at its peak in 1918 brought John D. Rockefeller a personal income of \$66-million, has been passed on to numerous descendants, to their secret trust funds, to their foundations, and to other holding companies.

It has enabled the Rockefellers to take over two of the nation's largest banks (Chase Manhattan and First National City), and to purchase large and possibly controlling interests in many of the biggest U.S. corporations.

Lenin used the "famous Standard Oil Company" as an example of imperialist monopoly in his pamphlet *Imperialism* (1916). According to Lenin, this corporation paid its ruling-class owners dividends of \$606-million from 1882 to 1907.

This trust was broken down in 1911 into its major component companies. But this most celebrated of all "anti-trust" actions did not deprive Rockefeller of the ownership of the companies. In 1911 he held 24.8 percent of Standard Oil stock. The supposed antimonopoly ruling gave Rockefeller 24.8 percent of all the companies in



Rockefeller family. 'They would rather Nelson was not Vice President if the central trusts must be exposed.'

to which Standard Oil was divided.

These holdings have been passed down to Rockefeller's heirs. In the only thorough investigation of corporate stock holdings ever conducted by the U.S. government, the Temporary National Economic Committee hearings of 1939-41, the following Rockefeller family holdings of Standard Oil components were revealed:

Socony Vacuum Oil Company (now Mobil), 16.34 percent.

Standard Oil Company of California, 12.32 percent.

Standard Oil Company of Indiana, 11.35 percent.

Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (now Exxon), 13.51 percent.

These four companies, and they still do not include all of the original Standard Oil trust, paid dividends in 1973 amounting to \$1,680-million. That is, in one year, they paid three times the dividends they did in the 25 years

cited by Lenin.

This is the concrete result of the world expansion of U.S. imperialism, victorious in two world wars and the perpetrator of countless colonial counterrevolutions. And this is not to speak of the most recent effects of spiraling inflation and the worldwide energy squeeze perpetrated by the oil trusts.

If the percentages cited above still hold true, and there is little reason to doubt it, the Rockefeller family income in 1973 from the four oil companies alone would have been \$230-million.

## Trust funds

These millions pour mainly into secret trust funds held by the large Rockefeller-controlled banks. *Newsweek* magazine reported that, "according to one source, there are 'well over 100 and perhaps 200 individual Rockefeller trusts' by now. This keeps the direct holdings of any one family member at a relatively low figure."

A 1973 investigation by Senator Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) hinted at the extent of the wealth held by bank trust funds, but was unable to penetrate to the actual ruling-class owners hiding behind these trust funds. According to the Metcalf study, for example, one of the trust funds held by the Chase Manhattan Bank (of which David Rockefeller is chairman of the board) goes by the obscure name of Cudd & Company.

Cudd & Company ranked among the top 30 stockholders of 62 of the 87 corporations reporting to Metcalf. It was the third-largest holder of Mobil Oil shares, second of Ford Motor, fourth of General Electric, fourth of Westinghouse, second of RCA, fourth of Union Carbide, fourth of Monsanto Chemical, third of Dow Chemical, first of Burlington Northern Railroad, and fourth in First National City Bank — to name a few!

Does the Rockefeller family own Cudd & Company? The weight of historical evidence says yes, but there is no public record, and no government agency has ever penetrated the books of this or any other major trust fund.

*Newsweek* magazine is already preparing for the inevitable whitewash of Rockefeller interests in the forthcoming confirmation hearings. A "longtime friend" of Rockefeller told *Newsweek*, "There is a very strong feeling among many members of the Rockefeller family that they want pri-

## Blood of Attica still on Rockefeller's hands

At 9:45 in the morning, Sept. 13, 1971, 600 New York State police, sheriff's deputies, and prison guards, and 400 National Guardsmen burst into the area of Attica prison being held by rebelling inmates.

The attackers opened fire. Their orders were "shoot to kill." The massacre claimed 43 lives.

The demands of the prisoners had been elementary: they wanted livable conditions. Throughout their

protest they asked above all to speak to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller about the situation.

Rockefeller refused to meet them. Rockefeller ordered the prison assault.

Now the victims of Attica are being put on trial by the government. Sixty-two Attica Brothers have been named in 42 separate indictments. Their defense is being organized by the Attica Brothers

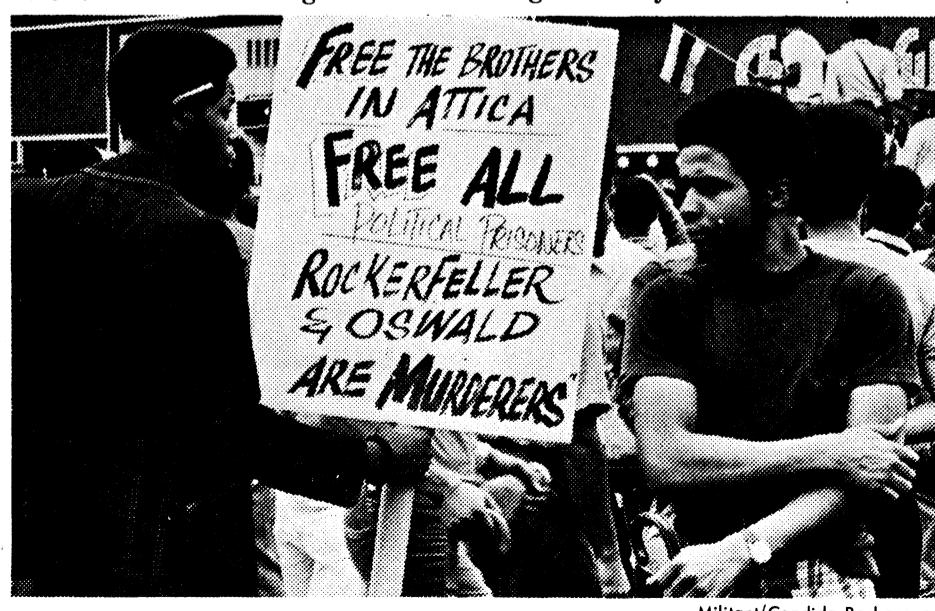
Legal Defense, located at 147 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14202.

On Aug. 21, the defense committee sent telegrams to the congressional committees charged with investigating Rockefeller's "qualifications" to be vice-president. The message read, in part:

"We are appalled by the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller to become Vice-President. Three years ago, the Brothers of Attica Prison were the victims of a brutal and merciless assault which resulted in the deaths of 43 persons, and the shooting and torture of hundreds of others.

"This military action against citizens of this state vividly characterizes the lawless and repressive nature of Rockefeller's administration. Reprehensible lies were told by state officials to falsely blame the prisoners for crimes committed by the state. Forty-two indictments were subsequently obtained by a prosecution force personally appointed to carry on this massive attempt to deceive the public. . . .

"We urge your committee to undertake a full examination of Rockefeller's personal role in the Attica Massacre and its legal and political aftermath."



Militant/Candida Barberena

# empire?

vacy, and they would rather that Nelson was not Vice President if the central trusts must be exposed."

Said *Newsweek*, "It seemed likely that Congress would make a careful but circumscribed investigation of Rockefeller's finances and, in the end, settle for something short of a total accounting on his family's fortune." It is the understatement of the year!

## Business secrets

The rulers will accept no challenge to their "right" to keep secret the true facts on their bloated profits and financial wheeling and dealing. Protecting their "business secrets" is as important to them as is the preservation of the secrecy that shrouds the operations of the imperialist government in Washington—in the conduct of war as well as in the conduct of diplomacy.

But this secrecy serves only to cover up their schemes for perpetrating violence and exploitation, as the Pentagon papers, the energy crisis, and Watergate so clearly underlined.

Rockefeller reaffirmed this ruling-class prerogative in his first news conference when a reporter asked him about his wealth. "You're not a member of Congress," Rockefeller retorted.

And this was even further modified by Rockefeller's staff, which let it be known that information might not go further than the eyes of "leading members" of Congress.

It is the American people, not just the capitalist politicians of the Demo-



Rockefeller's Pocantico estate in New York, surrounded by barbed wire and private cops.

catic and Republican parties, who need to have access to the secret books of the Rockefeller empire and the other ruling-class fortunes.

In nominating Rockefeller, President Ford went so far as to say that he "is known across the land as a person dedicated to the free enterprise system, a person who is recognized abroad for his talents, for his dedication to making this a peaceful world." Words have rarely been cheaper.

To the oppressed throughout the world, the Rockefeller empire stands as a despised symbol of the global rule of U.S. monopoly. U.S. imperialism has not brought peace, but uninterrupted warfare to the world.

Nelson Rockefeller did not serve the "public interest" as governor of New York State. He ordered the guns to open fire on prisoners in Attica, he cut state welfare programs to the bone, and he crammed laws through Albany condemning drug addicts to life imprisonment.

Rockefeller's presence in the Ford administration does not symbolize "national unity." It symbolizes the unity of the capitalist class against working people. Rockefeller does not represent Americans. He represents the owners of U.S. corporations.

# ...Ford's cutbacks & layoffs

Continued from page 28

the increase, so that 1974 models will now cost "only" \$426 more, instead of \$480 more.

Ford praised the move as "one of many examples of restraint [!] by management and labor as we all join in the fight against inflation."

Ford has also begun lining up support from the trade-union bureaucracy for this new attack on working people, in hopes of checking rising union militancy. Both AFL-CIO head George Meany and Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons have already indicated their support for the new wage-price council. Fitzsimmons went so far as to call for renewed wage and price controls—in reality, new wage controls.

Not to be outdone, Meany went out of his way to laud the nomination of Rockefeller, one of the most hated enemies of workers the world over. "Nelson is satisfied with his own share," the AFL-CIO head once explained, "and he don't try to keep the other feller from getting his."

## Rising unemployment

Rising unemployment is another key feature of Ford's recessionary policy. An increase in the official jobless figure to 6 percent is widely predicted.

The unemployment rate is, of course, already well above the 6 percent point for the most oppressed sections of the working class, running to 9.7 percent for Blacks. Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and women workers will be hit still harder by the new layoffs.

## Cuts in social spending

Part three of Ford's campaign against working people, euphemistically titled "fiscal restraint," boils down to massive cuts in spending for social services.

The real fat in the federal budget—war spending—will be scarcely touched by Ford's cutbacks. He made this clear in his Aug. 12 speech to Congress:

"A strong defense is the surest way to peace. Strength makes détente attainable. Weakness invites war as my generation, my generation knows from four very bitter experiences.

"Just as America's will for peace is second to none, so will America's strength be second to none."

The Democrats in Congress have proven themselves willing to meet Ford more than halfway on his plans to slash health, education, and public works programs. Already, they have agreed to cut almost \$5-billion out of the mass transit bill recently passed. This means that residents of New York and other big cities will soon be hit with new hikes in bus and subway fares.

Next on the chopping block will be education benefits for veterans. These funds are pitifully inadequate



Rockefeller and Ford plan to slash spending for housing, health, and education—but no reductions in war budget.

to begin with, as Vietnam veterans have pointed out in recent protests.

Ford has made a big hullabaloo about his "summit conference" on inflation, to be held later this month. This is simply a gimmick to cover up the government's lack of effective proposals for ending inflation, and to whip up support for new attacks on workers' standard of living.

The new White House press secretary, J. F. terHorst, bluntly said of the conference, "It would not be realistic to expect President Ford to achieve a miracle."

In the meantime, a public discussion is going on among the capitalists and their economists over how high they can let unemployment rise before encountering serious opposition from within the labor movement.

The Aug. 17 issue of *Business Week* expressed the view that "from here on, the government must accept the risk of pitching the economy into a serious recession."

The magazine called it "a tough situation that will seriously challenge Ford's staying power," but added that "many economists agree that Ford must take the risk. They think he must accept the political costs of a long period of slower growth and rising unemployment in order to prevent renewed acceleration of price increases and bring inflation down. . . ."

## Rockefeller nomination

Ford's choice of Nelson Rockefeller for vice-president fits right in with the rest of Ford's antilabor moves. Normally, the ruling class selects some flunky like Richard Nixon to rule in its interest. But occasionally a member

of the ruling class itself is called on.

As "an observer of the New York political scene" told *U.S. News and World Report*, Rockefeller "would help restore public confidence in the Government—particularly among business and financial circles."

A measure of how deeply that confidence is still shaken is the stock market. As of Aug. 27, stock prices had sunk to the lowest level in four years.

Ford has been trying to cover up his reactionary programs with token overtures to women, Blacks, and war resisters.

At a Veterans of Foreign Wars convention, for example, he called for "leniency" for those who resisted the draft during the Vietnam war. "I want them to come home," Ford claimed. But he ruled out a "blanket amnesty," calling instead for "earned reentry."

The suggestion that they have to "earn" their right to return to the United States—to atone for the "crime" of opposing a genocidal war—has angered many draft resisters and deserters.

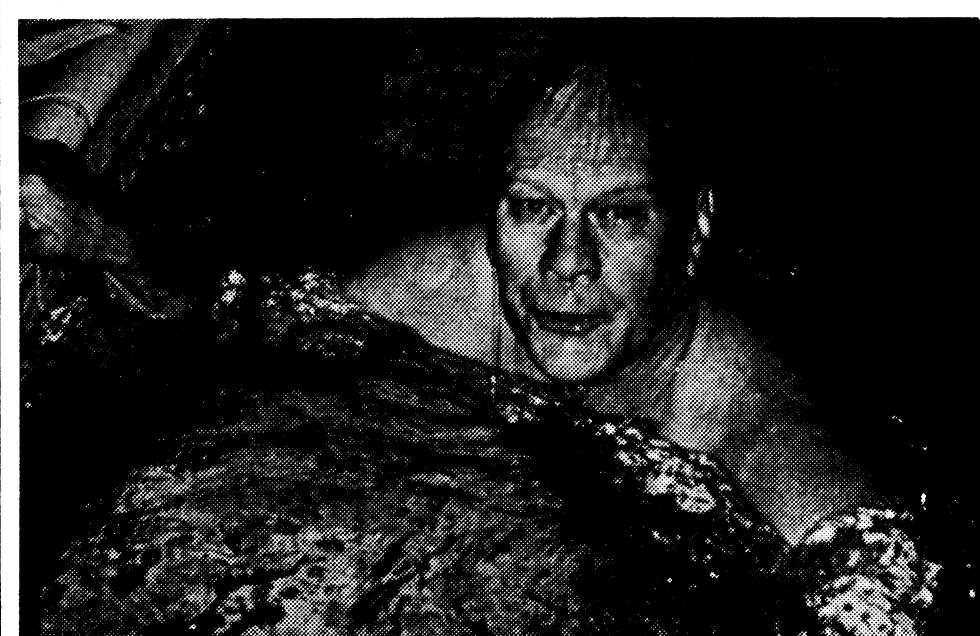
Kit Rigg, a deserter now living in Canada, reacted this way: "Ford's kind of punitive approach means we should admit we did something wrong—and we didn't. We did something right. We had a higher duty not to participate in the Vietnam war."

But while the young people who opposed the war will be repulsed by Ford's posturing, the Democrats and Republicans in Congress have obligingly joined in his charade. Female members of Congress, for example, lined up alongside Ford when he proclaimed Aug. 26 "Women's Equality Day." But the president was unable even on this occasion to stifle his male chauvinism, making sexist cracks.

The Congressional Black Caucus also met with Ford. Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel emerged to praise the discussion as an "absolutely fantastically good meeting." Rangel failed to announce any "fantastically good" Ford proposals to solve the problems facing the masses of Black people.

But even with bipartisan support and the treachery of misleaders of the union movement such as Meany, Ford's "honeymoon" with the American people will be brief.

Nixon ran into deep trouble because of anger over inflation, massive opposition to cutbacks in social spending and to rising unemployment, and the growing consciousness that the government represents not the working people but the bankers and businessmen. Ford and Rockefeller face the exact same problem.



FORD: Treading the waters of inflation

# 40th anniversary feature

# Minneapolis Teamster strikes:

By CINDY JAQUITH

The sharpening attacks of inflation and unemployment are spurring a reawakening of militancy in the labor movement today, spearheaded by young workers, often unorganized, many of them Blacks and women.

In contrast to the mood at the workplaces and on the picket lines, the labor officialdom remains conservative—unwilling to launch the kind of struggle needed to defend the interests of working people.

Signs of ferment in the unions include the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). Another sign came from the rank-and-file carpenters on the West Coast, who led a wildcat strike last winter when union officials refused to challenge government cuts in wage increases. And a further example is the downfall of the corrupt regime of W.A. "Tony" Boyle in the United Mine Workers union.

These are just the beginnings of efforts by working people to deal with the problems they face. Ultimately, these problems can only be solved by a complete transformation of the unions into democratically run, class-struggle organizations.

How will this be done? An inspiring example for trade-union militants today is the struggle 40 years ago by Teamsters in Minneapolis, who revolutionized their union in the course of three important strikes.

## Fortieth anniversary

This summer marks the fortieth anniversary of the strikes waged by Teamsters Local 574, strikes that began to turn Minneapolis into a union town and laid the basis for extending Teamster power throughout the Midwest.

Local 574 paralyzed the city during May and again in July and August of 1934, in a bitter fight for union recognition. Two pickets were murdered by police. The National Guard was brought in. But the powerful



During bitter fight for union recognition two pickets were murdered by cops and the National Guard was brought in

bosses' coalition, the Citizens Alliance, finally had to surrender in the first strike victory in Minneapolis in more than 10 years.

Local 574 grew rapidly as an industrial union, including not just drivers but inside workers as well. Other workers came to the union for help in their organizing drives, and the slogan "Make Minneapolis a union town" resounded across the city.

Local 574 then helped spearhead a drive to build the Teamsters union into a powerful force throughout the Midwest, culminating in the winning of an 11-state contract in 1938. The first area contract for the Teamsters, it paved the way for the later development of the Teamsters into one of the most powerful unions in the United States today.

Local 574 was a democratically con-

trolled union with class-struggle policies. But it didn't begin that way. In the early months of 1934, it was a tiny craft union with only a few contracts. Its elected officials deliberately excluded thousands of unorganized drivers and inside helpers from its ranks.

The story of how this union was transformed is the subject of *Teamster Rebellion*, by Farrell Dobbs.

Dobbs was a leader of the 1934 strikes, and in the course of the battle became a convinced socialist, joining the Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party. He has been a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party since the late 1930s.

In his second book, *Teamster Power*, Dobbs describes how the gains of the 1934 strikes were consolidated

and extended in the over-the-road Midwest organizing drive.

*Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power* deserve careful study by trade unionists today, who face many of the same problems confronted by the members of Local 574.

## 1930s labor upsurge

The Minneapolis strikes took place at the beginning of the massive labor upsurge of the 1930s that resulted in the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) several years later.

The Depression had generated widespread discontent among the thousands of unorganized, often unemployed workers. But the American Federation of Labor (AFL) wanted nothing to do with them. The AFL was based on the craft unions, which represented the skilled, relatively privileged workers.

The unskilled workers and the unemployed were shunned by the AFL bureaucrats, who viewed them as a threat to "their" unions. In the Teamsters union, for example, national president Daniel Tobin boasted that his members were "not the rubbish that have come into other organizations." He warned that the union didn't want new recruits "if they are going on strike tomorrow."

Bureaucrats such as Tobin approached the workers with the outlook of "business unionism," Dobbs explains in *Teamster Rebellion*. These "labor statesmen" saw their role as currying favor with the bosses by keeping union demands "reasonable."

The workers in Minneapolis and the rest of the country were further weakened by craft divisions. Minneapolis Teamsters, for example, were divided into a milk drivers' local, an ice drivers' local, and so forth.

## Class-struggle approach

To crack the open-shop paradise enjoyed by the bosses, a class-struggle approach was needed. This was the approach advanced by the Communist League, which had a few members in the Minneapolis trucking industry.

The Trotskyists of the Communist League saw the potential for building Local 574 into a powerful union through a major organizing drive and a battle to win union recognition

## 'A keen sense of union politics'

Since their publication, *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power* have been reviewed by union publications (including rank-and-file newspapers), major dailies, and the radical press.

"A burst of rank and file militancy transformed the Teamsters' Union once, and it can happen again," said the review of *Teamster Power* in the *Fifth Wheel*. "Thanks to the



Militant/Howard Petrick

FARRELL DOBBS: 'There are going to be trade-union struggles of large dimensions.'

dedication of men like Farrell Dobbs, next time we'll be starting with the industry already organized."

The *Fifth Wheel* is a rank-and-file Teamster opposition paper published in the San Francisco Bay Area.

"An absorbing piece of labor history," commented the AFL-CIO *Lehigh Valley Labor Herald* review of *Teamster Rebellion*.

"Regardless of their politics . . . Dobbs and his associates were outstanding trade unionists with a genius for organization and a keen sense of union politics," said the *Missouri Teamster* review.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* review of *Teamster Power* noted that "35 years had not diminished the contemporary significance of many of the issues [Dobbs] raises."

"If inflation and economic insecurity continue to plague American workers as they have done recently, the months and years to come will see renewed union militancy. . . . In this context, readers will find this book both provocative and instructive."

One or both of the books has also been reviewed by *Union Democracy*,

*St. Paul Union Advocate*, *Herald-American* and *Call-Enterprise*, *Minnesota Daily*, *Labor History*, *Kirkus Reviews*, *Library Journal*, and *Labor*.

The significance of the 1934 strikes was highlighted by a special front-page feature in the May 13, 1974, *Minneapolis Star*, which recalled the strike battles and contained interviews with three of the strike leaders, Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, who is also a Socialist Workers Party member, and Ray Rainbolt.

*Minneapolis Star* reporter Randy Furst wrote:

"They are men in their 60s and 70s now, but the years by and large have dimmed neither their militancy nor their memories of the '34 struggle. They talk of struggles to come. . . .

"There's certainly no question," Dobbs says, "that there are going to be trade union struggles of large dimensions. . . ."

"More and more is being taken out of the workers' hides," says Dobbs. "It's getting closer to the point that was reached in 1934 when workers had to say, 'This is it, we've got to fight, we've got to find a way.'"

# lessons for today's unionists

throughout the city. They also realized that Tobin and the majority of the executive board of Local 574 would view such a campaign as a threat to the job trust they were operating.

To start by attempting a head-on confrontation with the Teamster officials could have easily led to isolation, Dobbs explains. The revolutionists had won only a small number of workers to their position, and a premature fight with the union officials could be misunderstood by the membership as a simple fight over union posts.

Instead, what Dobbs calls a "flanking tactic" was adopted. The idea was "to aim the workers' fire straight at the employers and catch the union bureaucrats in the middle," Dobbs writes. "If they didn't react positively, they would stand discredited."

Several leaders of Local 574 did react positively to the proposals of the Communist League and became staunch allies in the fight. Those officials opposed to the organizing drive had to go along with it to maintain their credibility with the membership.

## Coal strike victory

The first step was a successful strike in the Minneapolis coal yards in the winter of 1934. Directed by a volunteer organizing committee, the strike caught the bosses by surprise and soon hundreds of new members poured into Local 574.

The key leaders of the coal strike were rank-and-file militants, in this case the volunteer organizing committee led by Trotskyists. The workers themselves recognized this, and after the strike, the organizing committee was voted official status inside Local 574.

This helped legitimize the left wing in the union and made it more difficult for the bureaucratic leaders to isolate it. In fact, while the union executive board retained formal leadership of the local, the organizing committee assumed more and more of the actual leadership because it had won the allegiance of the rank and file.

In May 1934, Local 574 went on strike to win union recognition throughout the Minneapolis trucking industry. Dobbs, who was a picket dispatcher, gives a blow-by-blow account of the strike in *Teamster Rebellion*.

The strike was organized with military-like precision down to the last detail. A large strike headquarters was set up with its own commissary and clinic. Cruising picket squads were dispatched in cars from the headquarters to sweep the streets clean of scab trucks. Mass picketing, sometimes involving thousands of Teamsters and their supporters, was organized at key delivery sites.

Local 574 was able to draw on the considerable strike experience of Communist League leaders in mapping a battle plan for the strike. Trotskyists played key roles in the organization of every aspect of the struggle. National leaders of the Communist League, including James P. Cannon, came to Minneapolis to help Local 574 leaders think out strategy, and Trotskyists with journalistic experience helped put out a strike newspaper.

## Allies sought

Local 574 not only mobilized its own ranks but also sought out allies in its fight, turning potential enemies of the strike into strong supporters.

For example, Local 574 opened its



Militant/Cindy Joquith

Young workers, women, and Blacks are spearheading new militancy in labor movement today.

strike headquarters and commissary to the jobless, convincing thousands to join the Teamster picket lines.

The union also organized the wives of strikers into a women's auxiliary, which took primary responsibility for maintaining the strike headquarters. This direct involvement countered the possibility that the women would turn against the strike out of fear of its economic effects on their families.

The farmers were also brought into active support for the strike. An agreement with Local 574 guaranteed that their produce would get to market, while assuring that scab trucks would not be used to transport it.

## Democracy

The democratic conduct of the strike was a key reason for Local 574's solidarity and effectiveness. Assemblies were held each night to report to the strikers on new developments, and an elected strike committee supervised policy.

The strike leaders were careful to dispel any illusions in the role of government mediators and capitalist politicians, or in the willingness of the bosses to live up to the contract terms once they were set. These lessons were bolstered on the picket lines, where the workers learned firsthand which side the cops, the capitalist press, and the government were on.

True to form, once the strike was settled in late May, the bosses immediately began renegeing on key contract provisions, and Local 574 pulled out its forces once again for the July-August strike. The second strike, which ended Aug. 21, proved decisive.

Local 574 emerged from the battle with bargaining rights at virtually every trucking outlet in the city and with substantial wage increases for the membership. In a few months the union had grown from a membership of less than 100 to a battle-tested union of several thousand.

In the course of the struggle, the left wing of the union had grown much stronger. Its policies had been proven in practice, while the class-collaborationist leaders of the union

ranks. In this way an expanding formation of secondary leaders was built up; they in turn helped to knit close relations between the leadership and the membership. Out of this process came a oneness which enabled the union to go forward as an effective combat force."

## Ranks educated

The union was also strengthened by deepening the understanding of the class struggle on the part of the ranks.

Local 574's leadership sought to inoculate the membership thoroughly against the poisonous class-collaborationist policies of the trade-union bureaucracy. Dobbs writes: "There can be no such thing as an equitable class peace, the membership was taught. The law of the jungle prevails under capitalism. If the workers don't fight as a class to defend their interests, the bosses will gouge them."

This was even codified in the new preamble to the union bylaws, which began:

"The working class whose life depends on the sale of labor and the employing class who live upon the labor of others, confront each other on the industrial field contending for the wealth created by those who toil. The drive for profit dominates the bosses' life. Low wages, long hours, the speed-up are weapons in the hands of the employer under the wage system....

"It is the natural right of all labor to own and enjoy the wealth created by it. Organized by industry and prepared for the grueling daily struggle is the way in which lasting gains can be won by the workers as a class."

It followed from this that the workers could rely on no one else—not "impartial" government mediators or benevolent employers—to defend their interests. Dobbs recalls that he tried to strengthen this understanding whenever possible:

"... I often used the parting injunction, 'Don't arbitrate,' when we separated after a meeting. It was intended to drill into the workers an instinct to cling tenaciously to their freedom of decision, never letting it be taken from the union's hands by a so-called 'neutral party.'

"Another slogan was invoked when a local leader asked if the union could do one or another thing. My opening reply was usually: 'You can do anything you're big enough to do.' Then we would discuss more concretely just how strong the union's position was in the given situation. This helped to instill in the workers a reflex tendency to think always in terms of using their class power."

*Continued on following page*

## Essential reading

**TEAMSTER REBELLION**  
192 pp. Paper \$2.25. Cloth \$6.95.

**TEAMSTER POWER**  
255pp. Paper \$2.95. Cloth \$8.95.

Monad Press books, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

# ...Teamster strikes

Continued from preceding page

In sharp contrast to the raiding operations conducted by today's Teamster officialdom against the United Farm Workers, Local 574 was a champion of the struggles of other unions and unorganized workers.

Ice drivers, machinists, garage workers, and others turned to Local 574 for skilled strike organizers, negotiators, and pickets. The union soon found workers in other cities turning to it also. Through these struggles a strong class-struggle wing was built in the labor movement of the area, with Local 574 at its core. In April 1935, these gains were further consolidated in the founding of the Northwest Labor Unity Conference, whose central slogan was "All workers into the unions. All unions into the struggle."

Teamsters President Daniel Tobin tried to undercut the role of revolutionists in Local 574 from the very beginning. In the midst of the 1934 strikes, he launched a vicious red-baiting campaign against the Trotskyists in the union. The Local 574 membership correctly saw this as a backstabbing attack on the union as a whole and repudiated Tobin's charges.

In April 1935, Tobin tried to destroy Local 574 altogether by decharting it on the spurious charge of nonpayment of dues. A phony "Local 500" was set up to compete with Local 574, but it never amounted to anything but a paper union.

The strong ties Local 574 had established with the rest of Northwest labor made it impossible to read the union out of the movement. The decharting episode ended with a defeat for Tobin, who finally had to accept Local 574 back into the Teamsters, this time as Local 544.

Meanwhile, Local 574 had continued its efforts to expand Teamster power. In 1937 a North Central District Drivers Council was formed, which began organizing Teamsters in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Michigan. The organizing drive soon expanded further south, and even Tobin was able to see the potential of the campaign to bring all Midwest drivers under a single contract.

Dobbs was the main strategist in the battle that followed to organize over-the-road drivers into the union. The 11-state contract won in 1938 represented 125,000 Teamsters, the largest contract negotiated by the

union up to that time.

It is worth noting that the organizing drive included independent owner-operators, the first time the Teamsters had sought to bring these truckers into the union. In contrast to the policy of the Teamster officialdom today, the organizing team led by Dobbs fought for specific needs of the independent drivers and won them to support the union.

Since that time, however, the Teamster officials have abandoned these drivers, leading many of them to quit the union. President Frank Fitzsimmons even went to the extent of viciously attacking last winter's independent truckers' strike against high fuel prices.

Fitzsimmons' backstabbing move against the independent truckers is another example pointing to the need for a transformation of the unions.

## Revolutionary program

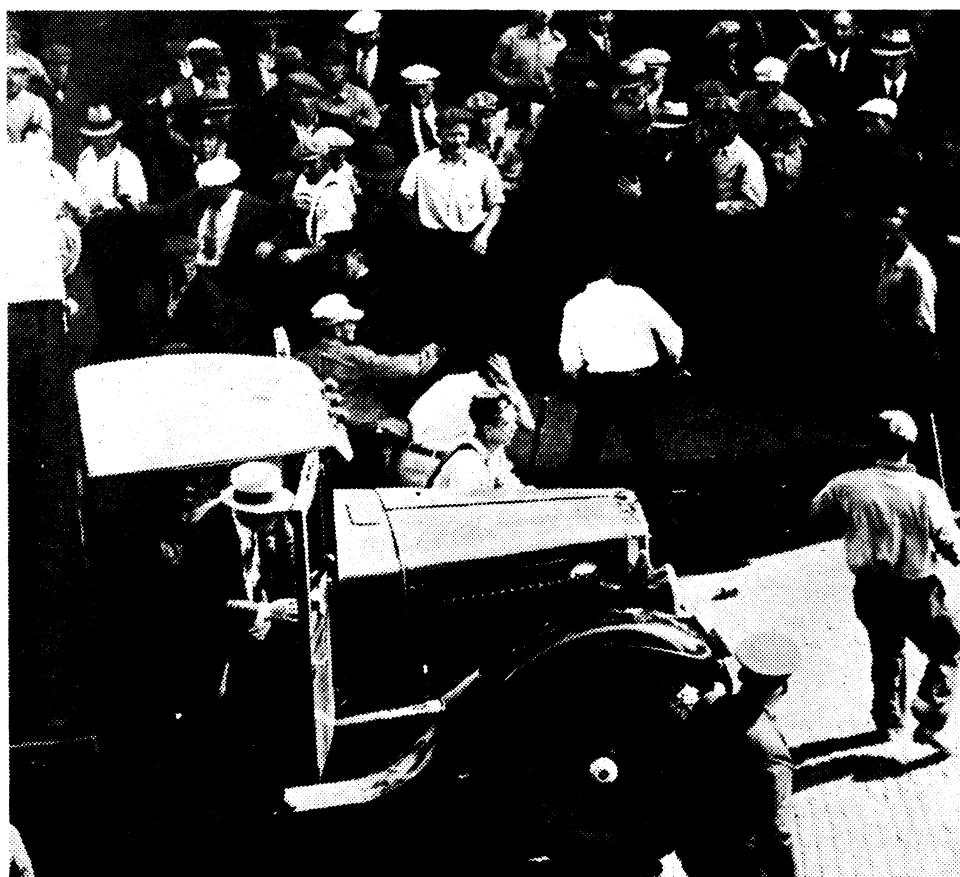
The kind of revolutionary program put forward 40 years ago in Minneapolis is called for today in order to transform the unions into fighting instruments. The revolutionary party is an integral part of that fight.

Throughout Dobbs's account of the Teamster battles of the 1930s, the role of the Trotskyist militants was decisive—from the 1934 strikes to the over-the-road campaign. As Dobbs explains, the Trotskyists were able to play this role because the revolutionary party embodies the "class memory"—the historic lessons of the class struggle.

The revolutionists earned the just respect of fellow Teamsters as the hardest workers and most devoted builders of the union. Through their experience, they were able to help new militants in the labor movement avoid the pitfalls and traps laid by the employers. But the skillful organizing and tactics supplied by the revolutionary party were only part of the role played by Trotskyists.

The key contribution of the revolutionists was a program and perspective that could inspire the workers with their power as a class and lead them in the struggle for higher wages, jobs, and union rights.

Today, far from being outmoded, the class-struggle outlook of revolutionary socialists is all the more needed in the union movement. These two books by Farrell Dobbs, and a third volume yet to come, are essential tools for the young militants who will be called on to lead the great working-class battles to come.



Minneapolis, 1934

# SWP beats challenge, wins ballot spot in Ill.

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—The Illinois board of elections has certified the entire slate of Socialist Workers Party candidates for the ballot in the November election, reversing an earlier decision declaring the SWP's petitions invalid.

The turnaround came after the SWP candidates launched a vigorous public campaign to expose the completely illegal and arbitrary ruling denying them a ballot spot, and threatened court action to overturn the decision.

The board of elections had ruled Aug. 21 that the SWP petitions "failed to state the intent of signers to form a new political party" as is required under the state election law. The SWP had collected more than 40,000 signatures for its statewide candidates; the law requires 25,000.

At the same time, the board rejected the petitions of the Communist Party and the Socialist Labor Party.

The SLP was denied ballot status

because its petitions were allegedly not worded properly. The Communist Party was thrown off the ballot because it did not fulfill a requirement that signatures be distributed throughout the state, despite the fact that this requirement has been declared unconstitutional by the federal courts.

At a news conference held Monday, Aug. 26, at the capitol building in Springfield, Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, denounced the board's ruling against his party, the CP, and the SLP.

He exposed the board's excuse for denying ballot status to the SWP by reading a copy of the party's nominating petition, which stated: "Petition to Form a New Political Party. We the undersigned qualified voters of the State of Illinois hereby state our intention to form a new political party."

Heisler declared, "The members of the board of elections are guilty of

Continued on page 26



SWP senatorial candidate Ed Heisler speaking at street meeting in Chicago

## Wounded Knee trial

# Cops attack spectators

By JEANNE STEVENS

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The U.S. government stepped up its attack on Wounded Knee defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means last week by bringing a surprise FBI informer to the stand as a rebuttal witness.

Louis Moves Camp, a 20-year-old former member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), testified that he was at Wounded Knee and witnessed Banks and Means participate in nearly every crime with which they are charged either personally or indirectly as the leaders of the occupation.

Kenneth Tilsen, Wounded Knee defense attorney, called Moves Camp an "unfortunate victim of the FBI." He said that the defense will "totally and completely discredit him."

Already Moves Camp's testimony is in question. He told the FBI the amazing story that Means and Banks had met twice with representatives of China, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and with representatives of the Communist parties of West Germany and Italy.

According to Moves Camp these persons promised the AIM leaders that their countries would provide them with weapons, funds, and supplies. Defense attorneys charge that Moves Camp was not even in Wounded Knee during part of the time he testified about.

Pressure in the courtroom has mounted since Moves Camp began his testimony on Aug. 21. On Aug. 23 Judge Fred Nichol ordered defense attorneys William Kunstler and Mark

Lane jailed after a courtroom disturbance.

Kunstler was cross-examining Moves Camp when subdued laughter broke out from a row of spectators. Nichol ordered marshals to clear the spectators from the courtroom. Federal marshals dragged spectators from the courtroom, including AIM leaders Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, and Mace at least one spectator. The defense attorneys objected to Nichol's behavior. Nichol ordered Lane and Kunstler jailed. Both were released the next day and no charges were brought against them.

The defense won a major victory Aug. 20 when the court dismissed five of the 10 charges being brought against Banks and Means. Two charges of interfering with federal marshals were dropped because of the illegal nature of the U.S. military involvement. A presidential order was apparently never issued to clear the way for the military intervention that took place last year at Wounded Knee.

Three other charges—possession of Molotov cocktails, burglary, and theft of an auto—were dropped because of lack of evidence. Charges of larceny, conspiracy, and three counts of assault still stand.

In Sioux Falls, S.D., where more than 100 people face charges in Wounded Knee-related indictments, seven more people were cleared of charges. Charges against 23 of the Wounded Knee defendants have been dismissed and five persons have been acquitted. The government has not won a single conviction and none of the defendants have pleaded guilty.

## Petitioners, signers harassed

# Missouri SWP fights for ballot rights

By FRED MURPHY

ST. LOUIS—Missouri state officials are trying to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot despite the 29,014 signatures gathered on nominating petitions for Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

This is the first time the SWP has petitioned for ballot status in Missouri, and the Democrats and Republicans are making every effort to maintain their monopoly on the elections.

After delaying a decision for six weeks on the grounds that his staff was "triple-checking" the SWP's petitions, Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick announced Aug. 8 that he was ruling the SWP off the ballot. He claimed that only 6,772 of the signatures submitted were those of registered voters.

SWP campaign supporters checked photocopies of the petitions against voter registration lists, however, and found that hundreds of valid signatures had been disqualified as "not registered" or "illegible." This was on a random sample of only 120 of the 1,760 petition sheets.

Among the signatures falsely invalidated were those of a state representative and a Republican congressional candidate who supported the SWP's right to ballot status.

"The secretary of state's supposed

validation check was a complete fraud," Barbara Mutnick charged. "Even my own signature was not counted as valid! Ruling the SWP off the ballot is an outrageous attempt to thwart the will of the 29,000 people who signed our petitions."

Mutnick buttressed her assertion that the ruling was discriminatory by contrasting it to the treatment of the American Independent Party's petitions in 1968. The AIP filed 68,000 signatures then to put George Wallace on the presidential ballot.

"The petitions of the racist right-winger Wallace were checked in five working days, and he was validated for the ballot within two weeks after filing," Mutnick said. "None of the signatures were checked against voter registration lists; checking was simply to verify that approximately the number of signatures claimed were in fact on the petitions."

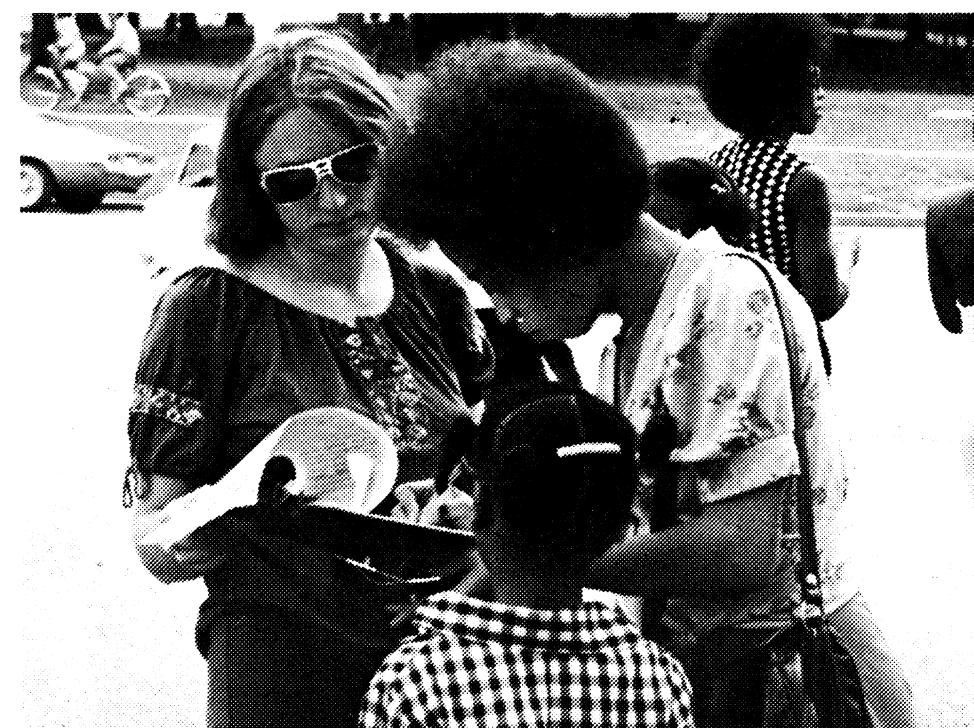
In addition to falsely disqualifying registered voters who signed the SWP's petitions, the secretary of state applied illegal criteria to the signatures.

The Missouri election laws have not been substantially altered since 1953, when they were rewritten to make it difficult for the Socialist Labor Party to maintain ballot status. Since then, Wallace is the only third-party candidate to appear on the ballot. The laws require 17,844 signatures of "qualified" voters, that is, Missouri residents 18 years of age or older. The secretary of state, however, has arbitrarily decided that signers must be registered voters.

On Aug. 15, attorneys for the SWP filed suit in the Missouri Supreme Court asking that the secretary of state be ordered to recheck the signatures on the basis the election laws spell out—that one need not be a registered voter to sign a petition.

In an attempt to cover up his own illegal and unconstitutional discrimination against the SWP, Secretary of State Kirkpatrick has tried to portray the SWP as something less than a legitimate political party. In his statement to the media Aug. 8 he made vague references to an "investigation" he is carrying out of the SWP petitions.

Kirkpatrick has also ordered his staff to harass petitioners and signers by telephone. Several socialist campaign supporters have been called at their places of work and asked not only if they circulated SWP nominat-



Democrats and Republicans are trying to thwart will of 29,000 Missourians who signed petitions to put SWP on ballot.

ing petitions but also such irrelevant questions as "How old are you?" "Were you born in Missouri?" and "Are you a student?" This is in spite of the fact that each petitioner signed a notarized affidavit on each petition sheet attesting that he or she was a qualified voter.

Circulators of SWP petitions have also learned of calls by the secretary of state's "investigators" to their neighbors, relatives, and landlords.

Kirkpatrick admitted to Barbara Mutnick on Aug. 8 that his office had already called 366 people who had signed the petitions and planned to call many more. Mutnick sent a letter on Aug. 10 to her opponents in the senatorial race, Democratic incumbent Thomas Eagleton and Republican Thomas Curtis, citing this harassment and urging them to support her right to ballot status.

"I know that as I gathered signatures myself," Mutnick wrote. "I encountered many people who were glad to know a socialist was running and who supported my right to be on the ballot, but who refused or were reluctant to sign in fear of government harassment and such repercussions as losing their jobs."

The secretary of state is now trying to further intimidate people from supporting the right of socialists and oth-

er candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican parties to run for office.

In addition, if Kirkpatrick's interpretation of the election laws is overruled by the Missouri Supreme Court, he apparently hopes the veiled threats of "investigations" will enable him to stall on granting the SWP ballot status until the deadline for drawing up the official ballot has passed.

Messages of protest against the denial of ballot status to the SWP can be sent to Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick, State Capitol, Jefferson City, Mo. Please send copies to Socialist Workers Campaign, 4660 Maryland, Room 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

AUG. 27—Missouri Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick's veiled threats of "prosecution" were made more explicit Aug. 26 when he announced that his office had forwarded the results of its "investigation" of SWP petitions to prosecuting authorities in the city of St. Louis and in St. Louis County.

This escalated attack on the rights of the Socialist Workers Party came at the same time that the Missouri Supreme Court decided to hear the SWP's lawsuit against Kirkpatrick. The court set Sept. 9 as the date for a hearing on the suit.

## NY SWP ends petitioning

New York Socialist Workers campaign supporters have successfully completed their drive to collect 56,000 signatures to place eight candidates on the ballot in November.

In nine days of petitioning in August, 57,106 signatures were obtained on street corners and in shopping centers in Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn, and cities and towns in upstate New York.

New York State election law requires the SWP to gather 20,000 signatures for its statewide ticket, headed by Derrick Morrison for governor and Rebecca Finch for U.S. Senate, and 3,500 signatures for each of three congressional candidates.

## 'Labor Committee' aids gov't

# Socialist candidates ruled off ballot in Mass.

By RICH CAHALANE

BOSTON—After a month of legal wrestling with Massachusetts state officials, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidates Randi Dolph and Jeannette Tracy Bliss have both been denied ballot status.

A final court appeal to put Bliss on the ballot was denied Aug. 5.

Nevertheless, the statewide socialist slate of Don Gurewitz for governor, Ollie Bivins for lieutenant governor, and Jeanne Lafferty for attorney general will appear on the ballot.

In a massive petitioning effort last spring, SWP campaign supporters collected 53,495 signatures for the statewide slate, 4,521 for Dolph in the 8th Congressional District, and 4,481 for Bliss in the 9th C.D.

Even though the SWP far exceeded the legal requirements for petition signatures, state officials from the local town halls to the secretary of state and the attorney general kept looking

for ways to keep the socialists off the ballot.

This attack on democratic rights was aided by the National Caucus of La-

bor Committees (NCLC), which challenged the SWP's petitions in the 9th C.D.

NCLC, though it claims to be socialist, opposes strikes, publishes racist smears against struggles of oppressed minorities, supports the cops, and has carried out armed goon-squad attacks on the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and other radical organizations. (For more on NCLC's degeneration, see "Labor Committee joins forces with cops," Aug. 2 *Militant*.)

NCLC's cooperation with the capitalist government to deny ballot rights to socialists is a further indication of its right-wing character.

Last July state election officials announced that 1,600 of the signatures for Randi Dolph had been declared invalid, leaving the 8th C.D. socialist candidate about 100 short of the legal requirement. When campaign supporters checked some of the petitions

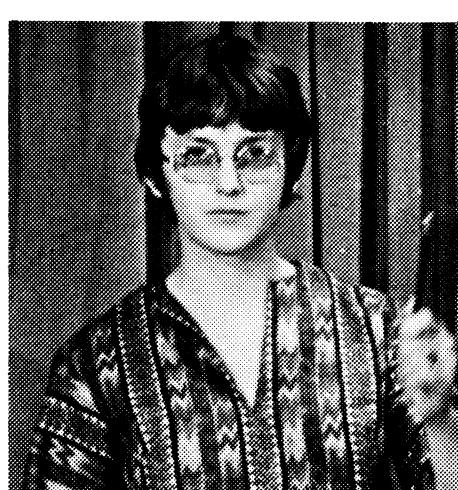
against voter registration rolls, they found hundreds of errors in the "validation" by the local town halls. At least 200 signatures had been declared invalid for no apparent reason whatsoever.

An appeal was filed with the state ballot law commission on instructions from the secretary of state. The hearing took place July 16. Although Dolph was prepared with documentary evidence of the errors in the "validation" process, the commission refused to subpoena the petitions and town hall records for careful inspection.

The chairman of the commission also asserted that "this commission probably does not have jurisdiction in this case. Your best recourse would be the courts." With that, the commission refused to hear the case.

A week later, however, Dolph received a letter from the commission saying her appeal had been denied!

*Continued on page 26*



Randi Dolph vows energetic campaign despite undemocratic exclusion from ballot.

# Portugal & the West: partners

Portuguese Africa and the West by William Minter. Penguin African Library. Baltimore, 1972. 176 pp. Paper, \$1.35.

By DICK ROBERTS

What are the relations between Portugal's African colonies, Portugal, and world imperialism?

Although researched in 1969-70 and published two years ago, William Minter's book is the best study of this question available in English. Minter emphasizes, and more recent documents all the more confirm, the central role that other imperialist powers, especially the United States, play in the exploitation of the Portuguese African colonies.

It is not easy to trace Washington's relations with Portugal. For a variety of reasons U.S.-Portuguese policy has been highly secretive.

Nevertheless, Minter shows that beginning in World War II, Washington has maintained close military relations with Portugal, supplying both financial aid and military hardware.

## Azores base

Key is the major U.S. airbase on Terceira Island in the Azores, built by the British in 1943 but taken over by Washington in 1945. One could doubt the special emphasis placed by the Pentagon on only one part of its global network of bases.

## Books

Yet, Minter points out, the base had been used in the 1958 intervention in Lebanon, in the Berlin crisis of 1961, and in the 1964 Stanleyville paratroop drop.

"In 1963 it was still true that 'approximately 75 per cent of normal US military air traffic to Europe and the Middle East transits the air facility on Terceira Island,'" according to a Pentagon official. Says Minter, "Dean Acheson reflected that the Azores bases were 'perhaps the single most important (set of bases) we have anywhere.'"

The latest confirmation of this was the use of Terceira Island in Nixon's massive October 1973 mobilization to back up Israel. Interestingly, such a contingency had long been foreseen. A U.S. strategic policy expert pointed out in 1969 "two of the most important new uses for the Azores. The first would be as a shuttle point for airlifting troops to the Middle East, should refuelling rights be denied to American planes in Western Europe and North Africa [as they indeed were last October — D.R.]. The other is an increasing emphasis on surveillance of the Soviet submarine fleet."

Washington pretends that its military support to Portugal does not go beyond NATO and the Azores base. "The Portuguese Air Force," according to Minter, "although now receiving German and French aid, still has many American planes. These include 50 F-84 Thunderjets; 50 F-86 Sabrejets; C-47, C-54, and DC-6 transports; several hundred T-6 and 30 T-37C trainers; some 20 B-26 bombers; 18 PV-2 Harpoon bombers; and 12 P-2V Neptune bombers. Only the Neptune bombers are assigned to NATO."

The T-6 and T-37C "trainers" will be recognized by opponents of the U.S. attack on Southeast Asia as the workhorses of counterguerrilla warfare, whose notorious napalm destruction of the countryside in order to drive peasants into "strategic hamlets" in the early 1960s served as the model for the same type of operations in Angola and Mozambique later.

Minter says that "up to the end of 1963, a total of 2,288 Portuguese military men received American training; there were 205 in the period from 1964 to 1968. In 1969 and 1970 approximately 130 are undergoing training."

## Business in Africa

The Portuguese colonies in Africa are immensely poor as a result of four centuries of foreign exploitation. None of them contains sources of agricultural or mineral raw materials that are vital to world imperialism, in the sense, say, of the oil in the Arab East. Their exports do not rank among the top exports of any of the major commodities in world trade.



African workers forced to labor in South African mines. Many of them come from Portuguese colonies.

But it does not follow that they are unimportant as raw materials sources and arenas for foreign investment. Every major capitalist power has invested in the Portuguese African colonies, and these investments have been growing. In fact, Portuguese policy since 1968 has increasingly oriented toward foreign capital as a source of investment funds, not only for the colonies, but for Portugal itself.

The Export-Import Bank provided, between 1962 and 1968, \$73,300,000 in loans to Portugal. One of the projects financed was the Tagus River bridge, built by a consortium of American firms headed by US Steel and Morrison-Knudsen. Other Export-Import Bank loans, including one in 1970 for \$18 million, have gone on the purchasing of aircraft for the Portuguese airlines TAP. Substantial financing has also come from private American sources, arranged generally through Dillon, Read & Co., investment bankers for South Africa, and many other foreign governments."

Measured in dollars, the most significant U.S. investment in the colonies is in oil—but in exploration (in all of the colonies) and in production, so far only in Angola. Says Minter, "Petrangol and Angol, two companies involving Belgian, French and South African interests, are engaged in petroleum production and in a refinery near Luanda. But even more successful has been Gulf Oil Company, which began its exploration in Angola in 1957, and struck oil in 1966, in Cabinda, the enclave of Angola north of the Congo River. Gulf is the sole concessionaire in Cabinda, and thus the principal beneficiary of oil resources which will put Angola among the top oil-producing countries in Africa, and make Portugal self-sufficient in petroleum supplies."

Angola's coffee trade does not rank large in the balance sheets of imperialist trade but nevertheless closely interweaves Angola in the world imperialist system. Angola is the fourth largest exporter of coffee, with 5 percent of the world total.

Yet, "of Angola's production, almost 50 percent goes to the United States, with the Netherlands, Portugal, and South Africa as other major customers. This export of coffee from Angola to the United States is therefore of central importance to Angola's economy, constituting about one-fourth of the total exports."

By 1969, extractive industries, especially diamonds and iron ore, had displaced coffee as

Angola's biggest exports. The U.S. Department of Commerce reported Oct. 20, 1970, that "diamond production last year from DIAMANG—Campanhia de Diamantes de Angola, totals 2.02 million carats valued at over \$70 million. . . . During 1969 four new companies, including subsidiaries of the U.S. firms Diamond Distributors Inc. and Diversa, were given diamond concessions." (*Foreign Economic Trends and their Implications for the United States*.)

However, these industries remain largely under British and South African control. Minter writes, "South African involvement is also present and growing in many sectors of the economies of Angola and Mozambique. A summary picture can

## Colonial terror

A Mozambican freedom fighter tells this story: "Certain leaders worked among us. Some of them were taken by the Portuguese—Tiago Muller, Faustino Vanomba, Kibiriti Diwane—in the massacre at Mueda. How did that happen? Well, some of these men had made contact with the authorities and asked for more liberty and more pay. . . .

"The governor invited our leaders into the administrator's office. I was waiting outside. They were in there for four hours. When they came out on the verandah, the governor asked the crowd who wanted to speak. Many wanted to speak, and the governor told them all to stand on one side.

"Then without another word he ordered the police to bind the hands of those who had stood on one side, and the police began beating them. I was close by. I saw it all. When the people saw what was happening, they began to demonstrate against the Portuguese, and the Portuguese simply ordered the police trucks to come and collect these arrested persons.

"So there were more demonstrations against this. At that moment the troops were still hidden, and the people went up close to the police to stop the arrested persons from being taken away. So the governor called the troops, and when they appeared he told them to open fire. They killed about 600 people."

— From *Portuguese Africa and the West*.

# in the rape of Africa

be gained by looking at the involvement of one financial group, Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation.

In Angola the Benguela Railway, which provides an access to the seas for the copper of Zambia and Katanga, is 90 per cent owned by Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd. Among the larger shareholders in Tanganyika Concessions is Anglo-American Corporations; British and Belgian capital is also involved. DIAMANG, the Angola Diamond Company, provides approximately 5 per cent of the revenue of the government of Angola, and runs a virtual 'state within a state' in the diamond producing area."

## Mozambique

In contrast to Angola, Mozambique is overwhelmingly a producer and exporter of agricultural products, especially cashew nuts, which mainly go to the United States.

It is a nation that has been severely underproletarianized by relentless counterrevolution, by forced cultivation of cotton beginning in the 1920s, as well as by the forced export of labor to South Africa.

Here U.S. capitalism scours for export markets. The Commerce Department noted as recently as May 19, 1972, that "despite Mozambique's economic problems, the outlook for U.S. exports to the Province is generally healthy."

Noting that import restrictions imposed by Mozambique in 1971 could slow down the flow of some U.S. consumer goods, the Commerce Department held that "the effort to substitute for consumer imports, and to develop export industries, will stimulate opportunities for the sale of plant machinery and even of complete factories. Opportunities for the sale of agricultural products in short supply in Mozambique, notably wheat and dairy products, are likely to continue to the extent that U.S. prices are competitive."

The great competitive advantage enjoyed by metropolitan Portuguese goods under previous payment systems has largely been abolished, which should favor American exports whenever prices are competitive."

## South Africa

Increasingly Mozambique and Angola are coming under the shadow of South Africa—as, indeed, are many of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Portuguese colonialism has long supported this process. Most notorious is the effect of its forced-labor laws, requiring that no Black worker in Angola and Mozambique be "idle," which in turn provides a continuous labor stream for South African mines.

"One way to fulfil the obligation to work," says Minter, "open to those in southern Mozambique, is to be recruited by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), for work in the mines of South Africa. Mozambican Africans account for about one-third of the labour force in mining there. Even the low wages paid to African miners in South Africa are much better than most Africans receive in Mozambique. . . ."

"On the official level, the South African government guarantees that 47.5 per cent of the sea-borne import traffic to the Johannesburg area will pass through Lourenço Marques [in Mozambique], in return for the privilege of recruiting an average of 100,000 workers per year. Portugal also receives a bonus payment for each recruit, with half of his wages, to be paid him on his return to Mozambique."

At the same time, South African capital is all the more heavily penetrating both of the large Portuguese colonies. Of special significance is the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project, in Tete province, Mozambique. "The project is to be developed in four stages, the first of which is to be completed by 1974. The power output is scheduled to be . . . 70 per cent more than [the] Aswan [dam in Egypt], and will feed into a power network serving all of Southern Africa, particularly South Africa and Rhodesia."

The scheme has been developed in close cooperation with the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, and the contract for construction was granted eventually to a con-



Young Portuguese destroying posters portraying Mozambique as a tourists' paradise. African liberation movements helped blow lid off Salazarist dictatorship.

sorium headed by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, with participation as well by German and French firms."

Minter emphasizes the Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African unity of interests. Their military and police officials hold periodic high-level consultations, and are in touch with each other as well on a day-to-day basis. South African troops and helicopters have been reported in action in southern Angola. In Tete province of Mozambique, the Cabora Bassa area is also under South African guard. The South African advance air bases in Caprivi and the northern Transvaal are ideally sited to cover areas of Angola and Mozambique as well.

"Nevertheless South Africa has not yet become as heavily involved in Angola and Mozambique as it is in Rhodesia, where South African 'police' form a major portion of the counterinsurgency forces." Minter speculates that "South Africa would be very likely to intervene on a large scale to prevent southern Mozambique from coming under hostile control."

## U.S. policy

From the first opening of organized revolutionary warfare against Portuguese colonialism in Angola in 1961 to the present day, 13 years later, Washington has consistently backed Portugal, although often in silence.

In the United Nations in 1963, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson reassured the Portuguese Foreign Minister Nogueira in a Security Council debate, "I hope he does not fear that any of us are seeking to deprive Portugal of its proper place in Africa."

"From 1962," says Minter, "the United States abstained on or voted against all major resolutions concerning Portuguese colonialism."

In 1965 pilots were arrested in a secret operation to fly U.S. B-26 bombers to Portugal. Minter comments, "The Douglas B-26 bombers have been used, since the Second World War, for counter-insurgency operations in Vietnam, Laos, the Bay of Pigs, and the Congo. CIA involvement in these operations is well-known."

More recently the Nixon administration took a more overt stance in support of Portugal as part of a more general policy aimed at strengthening the grip of colonialism on southern Africa. Cooked up in the National Security Council in 1969-70, the secret policy was designated operation "tar baby" according to *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith, who summarized the concept April 2, 1973.

Its central ingredient was to increase U.S. involvement with white governments and to treat South Africa as a sovereign regime. Smith noted that U.S. investment in South Africa increased by 80 percent from 1963 to 1969, including some 300 corporations—12 of the 20 largest—and was valued at between \$750-million and \$1-billion, with an average yearly return of about 17 percent.

Elements of the operation included sale of two Boeing 707s to Portugal and jet aircraft to South Africa; allowing Union Carbide to import chrome from Rhodesia; and the 1972 extension of U.S. rights to the Azores base and in return a \$400-million Export-Import Bank loan to Portugal—four times all of the U.S. assistance to Portugal since 1946.

That none of these measures, nor the previous decades of military and financial support to Portugal, succeeded in stemming the African liberation struggles, testifies to the deep-seated popularity of the anti-imperialist movements. They succeeded in blowing the lid off the Salazarist dictatorship even to the point where the new Spínola government has been forced to promise independence for the colonies.

This review, however, should indicate the extraordinary obstacles that remain for the liberation forces. Minter wrote in his concluding section two years ago, "The struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau is not just an isolated fight against an anachronistic colonial power. As they have fought, they have discovered that they fight also against white rule in Southern Africa as a whole; and that they are joined by allies from South Africa, from Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"They have discovered that they fight also against an imperial system, in which many countries are involved and of which the United States is the head. They fight knowing that others struggle against the same enemy, in Asia, in Latin America, in the Middle East, and even in the heart of the system, in the United States of America."

The truth of these lines has not been altered by the developments in Portugal, as important as they are for the African freedom struggle.

## Forced labor

Forced labor in Mozambique cotton fields is described by Gabriel Nantumbo:

"I was born in Imbuho, a cotton-growing region, in 1942. . . . My whole family produced cotton for the Companhia Agrícola Algodoelira. When the company came to exploit our region everyone was forced to cultivate one field of cotton. . . . After the harvest the company told us where to take the cotton and then bought it from us.

"They paid us very little for it. It was extremely difficult to make a living because we were badly paid and we didn't have the time to look after other crops: cotton needs constant attention; you have to keep weeding the field and thinning out the plants. . . .

"We were forced to produce cotton. The people didn't want to: they knew that cotton is the mother of poverty but the company was protected by the government. We knew that anyone who refused to grow it would be sent to the plantations of São Tomé where he would work without any pay at all. So as not to make our poverty even greater, then, so as not to leave the family and leave the children to suffer alone, we had to grow cotton.

"My uncle had a field of cotton like everyone else. One day he fell sick and could not look after the field. The company manager sent him to the authorities and he told them he was sick. The administrator said to him, 'You're a bad man. What you want is to avoid work. Do you think others don't fall sick? Is everyone who works the fields in good health?'

"My uncle replied, 'There are different sorts of illness. With some you can go on working, with others you can't. I couldn't work.' They arrested my uncle and sent him to São Tomé for a year."

— From *Portuguese Africa and the West*

# Calendar

## BAY AREA

A TRIBUTE TO JAMES P. CANNON. Wed., Sept. 4, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. (near 11th St.), San Francisco. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## LOS ANGELES

MEETING IN TRIBUTE TO JIM CANNON. Tues., Sept. 3, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

UNITED FARM WORKERS VS. STRIKEBREAKERS: IS DEPORTATION THE ANSWER? Fri., Sept. 6, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NASHVILLE

SOCIALIST ANALYSIS OF THE POLICE—A YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM. Speaker: Ben Harris, Young Socialist Alliance. Thurs., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. Room 208 East Carmichael Towers (West End Ave. and 24th Ave. North). Ausp: Vanderbilt Univ. Young Socialist Alliance and Nashville Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (615) 383-1337.

## SAN DIEGO

THE MURDER OF BERNARDO GALLARDO. Speakers will include Herman Baca, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee for Chicano Rights. Fri., Sept. 6, 8 p.m. San Diego State University, Library East Room 502. Ausp.: Militant Forum. Donation: \$1.

## TWIN CITIES

A TRIBUTE TO JAMES P. CANNON. Speakers: Jake Cooper, Harry de Boer, Charles Scheer, Betsy Farley. Fri., Sept. 6, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

# ...Illinois

Continued from page 22

deception and election fraud," in claiming that the SWP petitions failed to meet the requirements.

"The board of elections," Heisler said, "is not an impartial body committed to free and democratic elections. It is composed entirely of Democrats and Republicans and carries out the wishes of the leadership of those two parties. In typical Watergate fashion, the board of elections has lied about our petitions, and in doing so is violating my right to run for office and the right of voters to cast their vote for the Socialist Workers Party."

Heisler charged his opponents in the senatorial race, Democrat Adlai Stevenson and Republican George Burditt, with being behind the attempt to throw the SWP and the other parties off the ballot.

Stevenson and Burditt have sched-

uled a series of debates to be aired statewide on radio and TV this fall. Heisler has been involved in a fight with the broadcast media over his right to equal time to that given his capitalist opponents for these debates.

Most stations chose to cancel plans to cover the debates rather than give Heisler equal time as required by law. However, if Heisler had been denied ballot status, the radio and TV stations could have tried to use that as an excuse to deny him equal time.

Heisler's Springfield news conference received wide coverage throughout the state. In response to the publicity, the election board began to retreat from its decision. Michael Lavelle, the board chairman, conceded to reporters that an "administrative" error might have been made in ruling the SWP off the ballot, but said the party's petitions were being reviewed to determine if the SWP could be ruled off for some other reason.

After Lavelle's statement, a second news conference was held in Chicago. Heisler once again denounced the board's decision and announced that the SWP was prepared to go to court if the entire slate of candidates was not immediately certified for the ballot.

Shortly after this news conference, Lavelle called Heisler at the SWP campaign headquarters and complained about the bad publicity the board was receiving. He said, "My phone has been ringing all afternoon with news people calling."

Heisler suggested he could end that "problem" by immediately certifying the SWP for the ballot. A meeting was scheduled for the next day, Aug. 27, between representatives of the SWP campaign committee and election board members.

At that meeting the board certified the SWP for ballot status.

In a statement issued following the meeting, Heisler hailed the decision as an important victory for democratic rights. He said, "The board has learned that we socialists will not take any attack on our democratic rights lying down. We fight back, and we fight back hard. That's why we won."

At the same time, Heisler condemned the board's refusal to certify the Communist Party and the Socialist Labor Party for the ballot. "We fully support their right to be on the ballot. They have been unjustly denied ballot certification," he said. The ACLU is representing the Communist Party in appealing the ruling of the election board.

# ...ballot

Continued from page 23

Because of the cost involved in a court suit, the Socialist Workers campaign committee decided not to file an appeal to this ruling.

The July 16 meeting of the state ballot law commission also took up NCLC's challenge to the petitions for Jeannette Tracy Bliss in the 9th C.D.

In its challenge, NCLC said the SWP is "fascist" and controlled by the CIA. This ludicrous charge is raised by NCLC against every group it disagrees with and against every struggle it opposes. Its challenge always refers to the SWP as the (National) Socialist Workers Party, to evoke memories of Hitler's "National Socialists."

In a clear threat of further physical attacks, the challenge stated: "Although in this instance we can only protest the fascist (N)SWP from appearing on the ballot, in the future, a 'counter-gang' such as the (N)SWP, organizing for Rockefeller's plans for fascist military dictatorship should be, and will be dealt with in a different manner."

Before the ballot law commission, NCLC representatives Robert Primack and Larry Sherman alleged that the SWP's signatures were forged. This claim was totally unsubstantiated, and even NCLC's own "handwriting expert" refused to verify it.

However, their "expert" did testify to some 930 instances of someone other than the signer writing in the word "same" in the "present address" column on petition sheets.

Bliss's lawyer argued that such a practice is not prohibited under the law and is commonly done by all petitioners, including the Democrats and Republicans.

Despite the law's ambiguous wording on the matter, the commission ruled three days later that those signatures should be invalidated, thus denying Bliss ballot status.

An appeal of the ruling was filed in Suffolk Superior Court. A well-attended news conference was held to announce the appeal, and support for the SWP's ballot rights was gathered from prominent individuals such as State Representative John Bussinger.

When the case was heard Aug. 5, however, Judge David Nelson took just eight minutes to uphold the commission's ruling.

In a statement released afterwards, Bliss denounced the maneuvers by which the Democrats and Republicans

who run the state government had prevented the SWP congressional candidates from appearing on the ballot.

She pointed out that "the election laws, which the SWP complied with in every respect, are deliberately complicated, vague, and full of loopholes for the sole purpose of preventing third parties, like the SWP, from being on the ballot."

Bliss and Dolph both declared they would run energetic write-in campaigns "to expose the corrupt Democratic and Republican parties for their consistent opposition to the interests of working people, and to put forward the socialist alternative."

## The U.S. Role in Southern Africa

by Malik Miah

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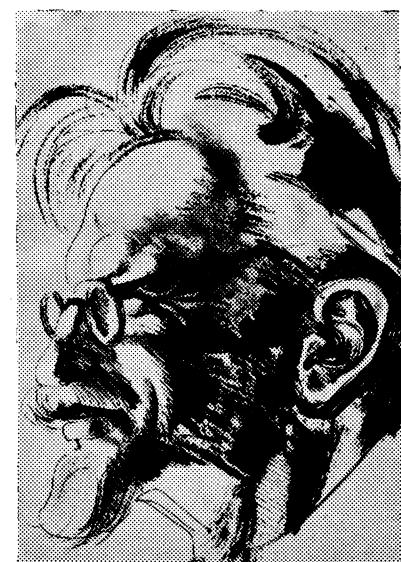
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# Ford's plan: more cutbacks & layoffs

By ELAINE MITCHELL

"It sounds like a corporate merger—Rockefeller and Ford," one woman told an Ohio newspaper. "It shows who rules America."

In his first weeks in office, Gerald Ford has made it clear that he intends to carry out the very same policies as his predecessor. In fact, Ford is already stepping up the reactionary policies followed by Nixon, especially on the economic front.

Ford's program is to "fight inflation" by throwing more people out of work, cutting back on social services, and keeping the lid on wage increases. His program also includes continuing the U.S. role of world cop, protecting the superprofits of the giant corporations at home, and beating back all challenges to racist and sexist oppression.

The U.S. ruling class and the Democratic and Republican parties, which serve its interests, are firmly backing this program.

With the help of Congress, Ford

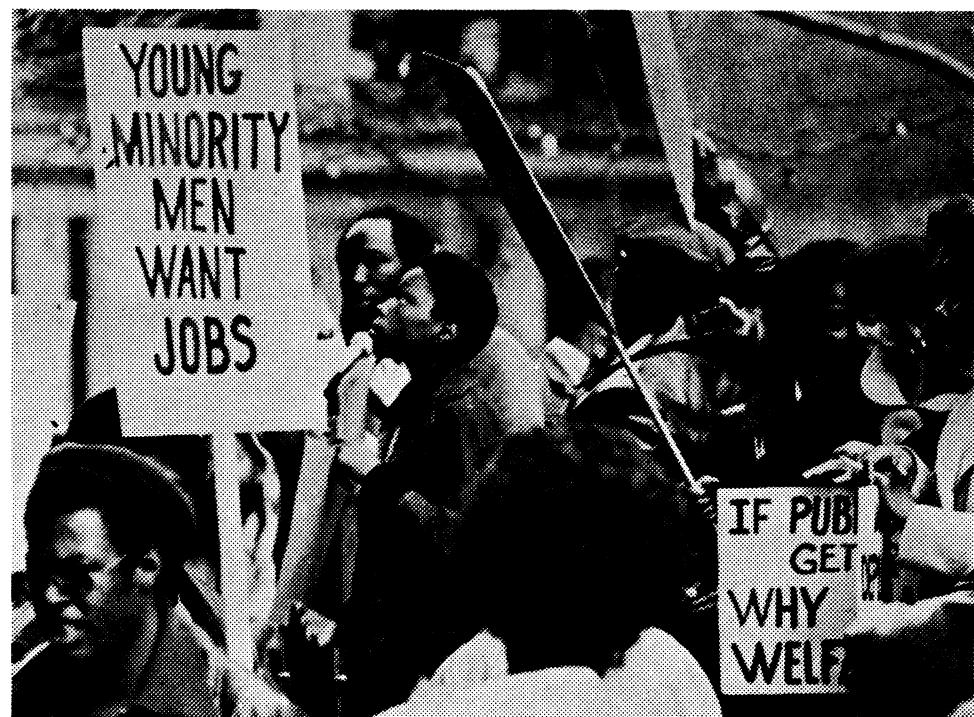
has already begun to put his economic policies into practice. One highly publicized move was the setting up of the new Council on Wage and Price Stability, modeled on the old Cost of Living Council.

The Council on Wage and Price Stability is supposed to "jawbone" business and labor into self-restraint, says Ford. It will not initially have the power to impose wage or price controls.

But like its precursor, this new body is aimed not at soaring prices but at workers' wages. Under the old council, for example, prices rose twice as fast as wages, leaving workers today with 5.3 percent less buying power than they had a year ago.

Ford himself has demonstrated that the restraints on prices are a sham. His much-touted recent criticism of General Motors Corporation for announcing a rise in prices was only a pretense. GM magnanimously responded by shaving a few dollars off

Continued on page 19



Militant/Leo Scanlon  
Those hit hardest by Ford's economic policies will be Blacks, women, and other super-exploited workers.

## The fight against deportations

# Raza Si! Migra No!

The following is based on a speech presented to the Los Angeles Militant Forum last spring.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

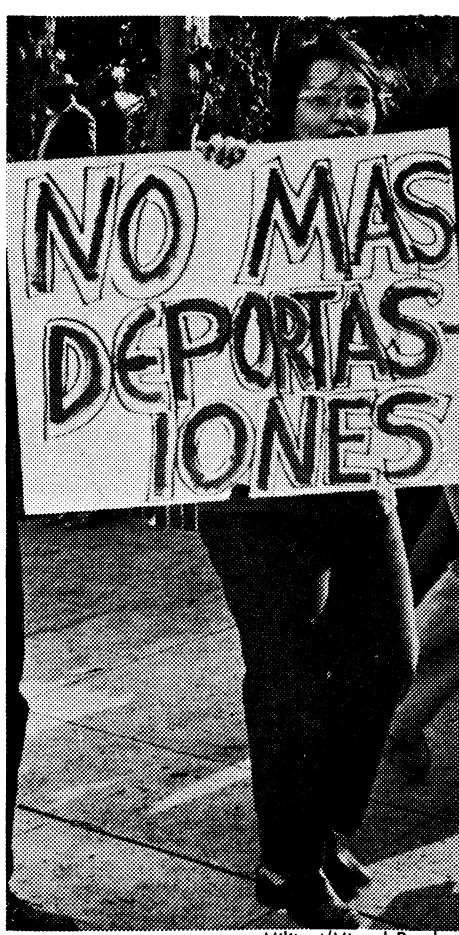
The national news media have begun focusing more attention on one of the major scandals of American capitalist society—the treatment of the so-called illegal aliens.

Newspapers, magazines, law school periodicals, and the *Congressional Record* have carried articles describing how people who come here from Mexico and other Latin American countries without visas or work permits are mercilessly abused by coyotes (labor smugglers), employers, labor contractors, the Border Patrol, and a hundred other shysters and crooks.

### Not 'aliens'

There is a widespread sympathy in the Chicano community for the "illegal aliens." In fact, most Chicanos wouldn't use that biased term. Instead terms such as "workers without papers" or "undocumented workers" are used.

An estimated three to five million people are living in this country with-



Militant/Miguel Pendas

out papers. Most are *mexicanos*, but there are also Dominicans, Colombians, Haitians, and many others.

Almost every Chicano has a brother, sister, cousin, in-law, parent, or friend who came here *a la brava*—the hard way, without the proper documents. Many have lived with the constant fear of having a close friend or relative deported. We do not regard any of our *raza* as "aliens!"

The border is not of our making. Neither Chicanos nor *mexicanos* have forgotten that Aztlan (the Southwest) was the northern part of Mexico until it was conquered and taken over by *yanqui* capitalism.

As soon as undocumented *raza* workers come here, they are forced to share the racist oppression of the Chicano people. At the same time, all Chicanos are subject to harassment by *la migra* (Immigration Service) and other cops on the pretext that some may be "illegals."

### Racist dragnets

From New York City to Los Angeles, *la migra* conducts racist dragnets, picking up anyone of Latin appearance in complete disregard of their constitutional rights. Anyone who can-

not produce the proper papers on the spot is liable to be deported.

Last year in Los Angeles more than 7,000 men, women, and children were swept up in one such operation.

Some 800,000 people were deported in the past year, and General Leonard Chapman, the former Marine Corps commandant who directs the Immigration Service, expects to deport a million in the next 12 months.

Who is responsible for the abuse and exploitation of undocumented workers? Is it true, as many journalists in the capitalist press suggest, that all parties involved—Mexican citizens, American citizens, the Immigration Service, employers, and unions—are merely caught in a situation from which all suffer and which none can control?

The truth is that the wealthy handful of people who run this country are in control. They are the ones who profit from the misery of workers without papers. The capitalists want to use undocumented workers as a pool of low-paid labor, and the border is made easier or harder to cross depending on the needs of the capitalist economy at any particular time.

Continued on page 16